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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE MR. CHURIA CANARAN, DEPUTY COLLECTOR OF MALABAR.

AMONG the representative men of Southern India the late Mr. Churia Canaran deserves a high place. He was the scion of a respectable Tiyya family at Tellicherry which furnished native officers to a corps raised during the commotions preceding the conquest of Malabar by the East India Company; for, be it remembered that Tellicherry had been an English factory centuries before the Mysoreans devastated the country. He was born at Mahe in 1812. He had an only brother, Mr. Churia Raman, who died as Tahsildar of Calicut in 1868.

Though the Tiyyas of North Malabar follow the Marumakkatayam rule, they attach equal, if not greater, importance to their paternal descent and often adopt the father's house name. The family name *Churia* to which he added considerable lustre, descended to Mr. Canaran from his father who was Jailor at Tellicherry, and whom he succeeded in that capacity on the 22nd June, 1829. This was his first appointment in the public service and he held it until 1832.

In those days English was seldom learned by natives, and Mr. Canaran was no exception. There was hardly any English school open to them, and there was little or no encouragement held out to study the language. The Eurasians monopolised the English Departments of public offices. But the Collectors and Judges belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service were generally conversant with one or two vernacular languages, and Mr. Canaran, to cope with the

ever changing stream of Civilians hailing from the Tamil and Telugu Districts, early made himself proficient in three languages, *viz.*, Hindustani, Telugu and Tamil. In his own vernacular, Malayalam, he was a profound scholar and he was no mean scholar in Sanskrit.

His linguistic attainments soon attracted the notice of Mr. G. S. Greenway, the Assistant Judge, presiding over the then Auxiliary Court and in charge of the Jail. He gave him the appointment of a Gumastah in his Court in 1832. It is said that when Canaran was paying his dutiful homage to his father then on his deathbed, when proceeding to Court to take up his appointment, the latter gave him his blessing and presented him with a pair of quills as a token of his fond and fervent hope that his beloved son would write his way up the ladder of official life. That was all the inheritance he derived from his father, and that hope was fully realised.

From 1832 to 1838, he did duties as Bench Clerk (Munshi) in the Auxiliary Court, winning golden opinions from successive presiding Judges, *viz.*, Messrs. Greenway, White and Strange, the first declaring: "I have every reason to be satisfied with his conduct and recommend him to the consideration of my successors as an active and honest man and as the most efficient servant on the establishment;" and the second testifying to his attention and assiduity combined with a perfect knowledge of the Regulations and Orders of the Higher Courts. His contact with Mr. T. L. Strange who afterwards rose to the position of the Chief Judge of the Sadr Court was the turning point in Mr. Canaran's career as a public servant. On the 1st March 1838, Mr. Strange conferred upon him the appointment of Sheristadar of his Court—an appointment of responsibility which, but for his precocious and pre-eminent abilities, would have been presumptuous in those days for one in his position in the service to covet. This Judge's proceedings ran as follows:—

"Under the operation of the orders of Government for altering the pay of certain servants of this Court communicated by the Provincial Court on the 22nd June 1836, the situation of Sheristadar has been kept open in order that a duly qualified person might be procured to fulfil the duties of the office."

"The Assistant Judge has long entertained a high opinion of the integrity, talents and assiduity of Churia Canaran, Gumastah on the establishment, and has observed that he has exerted himself with great success to obtain a knowledge of the Regulations and Subsidiary orders of the Higher Courts."

"Messrs. Greenway and White who had the charge of the Court for upwards of nine months and a half during the absence of the Assistant Judge have borne the highest testimony to Churia Canaran's qualifications and good conduct and have recorded their opinion that he is the most efficient servant on the establishment."

"The Assistant Judge concurs fully in this opinion and as Churia Canaran has qualified himself for the office of Sheristadar, the situation is conferred upon him."

This unprecedented preferment of a comparative junior in the service excited heartburnings in his seniors, and as his bitterest enemies could not assail his character and abilities, a monster petition was got up by some disaffected people against the appointment on the score simply of the caste of the appointee, he being the first Tiyyan who was elevated to the position of the Sheristadar of the Court. The petition was presented to the Provincial Court Judges as the controlling authority, subject to which appointments were made by the Assistant Judge. Intrigue and chicanery, as might be expected, found no favour with the serene Judges of that Court, and they rejected the petition with these observations:—"The appointment in question was perfectly justified and the objections to it urged in the above petition are frivolous and groundless."

When Mr. Strange left for Calicut in February 1839, he again recorded his high opinion of his Sheristadar's talent and integrity. His successor Mr. G. A. Harris also expressed his entire satisfaction of the way in which Mr. Canaran performed the duties of Sheristadar of the Court. The last named gentleman cherished a life-long friendship for his native friend which was kept up by affectionate correspondence.

In 1843 great changes were made in the constitution of Courts in the Madras Presidency. The Provincial Courts were abolished, and Civil and Sessions Courts with the combined jurisdictions of the Provincial Courts and the Auxiliary Courts were instituted. Tellicherry was made the station of the North Malabar Court, and Mr. Canaran became the Sheristadar of the new Court and continued so until May 1844. Evidently, in giving effect to the claims of the Provincial Court officers thrown out of employ, Mr. Canaran was transferred as Sheristadar of the newly created Subordinate Court of Calicut then exclusively manned by Covenanted Civilians.

There, he remained till 31st December 1846, securing the warm approbation of Messrs. C. R. Baynes, J. W. Goodwyn and T. Onslow.

In October 1844, Mr. Canaran appeared for and passed most creditably the examination for the office of District Munsif before a Board consisting of Messrs. H. Morris, H. V. Conolly and R. Chatfield of the Covenanted Civil Service. On his sending up an application for a Munsif's situation in another District, Mr. J. W. Goodwyn records of him as follows:—"The Sub-Judge is happy to be able to record a very favourable opinion both of the Sheristadar's qualifications and character; he is an intelligent and industrious man, well acquainted with his present duties and those of a District Munsif." But he had already secured the testimony of Mr. T. L. Strange for his fitness for the superior office of Principal Sadr Amin, that gentleman on the 31st January 1843 writing as follows:—

"Churia Canaran, Sheristadar of the Auxiliary Court of Malabar, having requested me, as having known him from the beginning of his public service, to testify as to his fitness for the office of Principal Sadr Amin, I have great pleasure in stating that there are few of the natives of Malabar, who have come under my observation, who are equal to him for talent, assiduity and knowledge of the Regulations and Circular orders of the Courts, and that I have always entertained the highest opinion of his integrity and considered him free from partialities."

Mr. George Harris also in a letter to Mr. H. Morris of the Provincial Court, bearing date February 1843, supported his application in these words. "There is no one more able and competent to perform the duties of Principal Sadr Amin than the individual in question. He has been under my personal observation nearly four years and has during that period evinced the highest zeal, ability, integrity and impartiality in the discharge of his duties." He could have secured the appointment of a Second Grade District Munsif, then of very limited powers, under the Regulations then in force, for the mere asking, for Mr. Harris makes mention of the offer of that appointment having been made to him often and declined for family reasons. Naturally he thought himself entitled to a Principal Sadr Amin's place at one leap. His training and abilities pointed to a distinguished career as a Judge, if he had remained in the Judicial Department; but he was destined to shine in the Revenue Department where his services were secured by that farseeing Collector of Malabar, Mr. H. V. Conolly, who had been struck with Mr. Canaran's attainments when he appeared before him for his Munsif's examination in 1845.

The appointment of Head Munshi in the Huzur Cutcherry was conferred upon him on the 1st January 1847. He was the chief ministerial officer next in rank to the two dignified officers known as Sheristadars who were, to all intents and purposes, Native Assistants to the Principal Collector. Mr. Canaran was still ambitious of securing a Judges's place, and when the office of the Principal Sadr Amin of Coimbatore fell vacant in May 1848, he applied for it and Mr. Conolly backed him up in a letter dated 27th May 1848 written to the Registrar of the Sadr Court, which contains the following passage :—" Canaran's services have been chiefly in the Judicial Department where he earned for himself a high character and position. In the responsible post which he has held under me for the last year and a half, he has given me great satisfaction and I confidently recommend him as a man of superior ability and principles." When there was a similar vacancy at Chingleput he again applied for it and Mr. Conolly again supported his application by forwarding the following note to Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 23rd December 1854.

"My Second Sheristadar has written to the Governor's Secretary for a Principal Sadr Aminship vacant, I think, at Chingleput. His request, he has been informed, is recorded. The Sheristadar is one of the most intelligent and I think the *honestest* native I met with in India. I could conscientiously recommend him, if my recommendation were of any use."

Let us now turn to his career in the Revenue Department. On the 26th July 1848 he was promoted to the office of the Naib or Second Sheristadar of the Huzur Cutcherry. He became the right hand man of Mr. Conolly who recorded of him as follows in his first Jamabandy report after his promotion: " My Second Sheristadar has but lately succeeded to his post. I have a high opinion of him and doubt not he will justify my choice." In September 1854, Mr. Conolly writes to the Revenue Board regarding him as follows: —" The careful and protracted enquiries of the Second Sheristadar whose character for integrity and moderation secures him particular influence, have led to the discovery of many cases in which the Government rights were unknown to, or concealed from, the comparatively inferior servants on whose statement my original estimate was based."

This report has reference to the Bettatnad Raja's Escheat which had escaped the attention of the Government for about 60 years. The Naib Sheristadar was entrusted with its settlement.

He had to deal with a variety of claims, both true and false, advanced by ryots numbering 968. By the end of 1854 he settled 1,701 cases bringing a sum of Rs. 70,000 into the Government Treasury. There were only two appeals from his settlement which resulted in confirmation of the original decision. This was one of the great services rendered by Mr. Canaran.

The next memorable service rendered by him was the tactful way in which he effected the peaceful expatriation of the Mahomedan Saint Syed Fasal *alias* Taramal Tangal which will be found entered at length in connection with his application for full pension.

The last great service rendered by him was the revision of the Pattahs and Revenue demand of the whole District which is also entered in connection with his pension application.

Both Mr. Conolly and his trusted Sheristadar were marked men after the deportation of Syed Fasal. The Collector was foully murdered in West Hill at Calicut in 1855 by the fanatical Moplahs, but Mr. Canaran's life was saved by the precautions taken to guard it.

Mr. Canaran got on remarkably well with Mr. Conolly's successor Mr. T. Clarke, who wrote of him in his Settlement Report dated 25th September 1856 as follows:—"The Naib Sheristadar Canaran is an officer of high character and much influence." It may be here mentioned that innumerable Civil disputes among merchants and *janmies* in Malabar were settled by him as a private arbitrator at their earnest solicitations, so well known was his character for integrity and impartiality.

The next Collector who directed the destinies of Malabar was that energetic Civilian, Mr. William Robinson, who entertained a great affection for and admiration of Mr. Canaran. He speaks of him in his letter to the Board of Revenue dated 25th October 1856, as follows;—"I must bear testimony to the patience, temper, and integrity which the able officer Churia Canaran, Second Sheristadar, has manifested throughout the settlement." This refers to the Bettatnad Rajah's Escheat. And the Board mark their appreciation of his work by recording as follows:—"The Board are glad to observe that the Second Sheristadar continues to afford every satisfaction in the performance of the onerous duties entrusted to him in the settlement of this property." The Government are equally appreciative, they recording in their Minutes of Consultation under

date 26th February 1857 as follows:—"The Government notice with satisfaction the favourable mention made by the Acting Collector of the Second Sheristadar Churia Canaran in connection with the settlement of the property."

In 1857 Mr. Canaran was entrusted with the work of acquiring lands for the Railway extension to Beypore and Mr. Robinson writes of him as follows on the 24th April 1857:—

"The Acting Collector having a second time gone over the greater part of that portion of the Railway line, the valuation of which had been entrusted to the Second Sheristadar has satisfied himself of the care, accuracy and equitableness, as well as the moderation of the valuation of the land and compensation made by this officer.

"The Acting Collector has further had an opportunity of observing, during the distribution of the large amount disbursed in his presence, the tact, care and patient adjustment of the varied claims as shown by this experienced and able officer whose abilities and integrity in such matters, has been so largely tested in the arrangement of the valuable Bettatnad Escheats."

Mr. P. Grant was the successor of Mr. Robinson, and he writes of Mr. Canaran in his Jamabandy report dated 19th August 1858 thus:—"The Naib Sheristadar with whom I come in contact in the course of my daily duties has rendered much and valuable aid."

The meritorious services above enumerated deserved promotion and it came to him in March 1859 by his being appointed a Fourth Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate. He was placed in charge of the Southern Division of Malabar, his headquarters being Ponnani. There he discharged his onerous duties to the great satisfaction of the public and Government, being entrusted also with the work of settling and selling Escheat lands throughout Malabar. His work was well appreciated by the Collectors, Messrs. P. Grant and G. A. Ballard. Mr. Ballard in his letter to the Board of Revenue under date 12th December 1862 writes as follows:—

"With reference to the Proceedings* of Government received with Board's order‡ noted, I have the honour to state that the services of the Deputy Collector Canaran can in my opinion be well made available for the sale of a considerable portion of the Escheats in South Malabar.

*4th April 1862 No. 751.
‡7th April 1862 No. 2289.

"This Deputy Collector, as the Board are aware, is now engaged in the disposal of the Bettatnad Escheats. He has hitherto carried out this important and delicate work with success, but many of the cases that remain for settlement are somewhat involved and will require careful management. The Deputy Collector deprecates any abandonment of the cautious and moderate course hitherto pursued and represents that the settlement of the remaining cases may extend over some three years more.

"I agree with him in thinking that it would be injudicious to hurry on the settlement of the Bettatnad cases. He should be permitted to go on with them as hitherto, but I propose that simultaneously he should commence and carry on

the settlement of some of the other large Escheats of South Malabar. I have directed him accordingly to prepare for the sale of the Manapuram Escheats in the old Taluq of Chowghat, now part of his division, and I propose that he should also commence the sale of the Chenat Nair's Escheats in the Palghat Taluq."

Again on the 28th December 1863, the Collector writes as follows :—

"Operations in the South have been considerably extended. They have been entirely entrusted to the Deputy Collector C. Canaran whose long experience gave him a peculiar mastery of the subject and whose ability is well known." The Board of Revenue in the Proceedings, dated 7th March 1864 concurs in Mr. Ballard's testimony to the continued zeal and efficiency of Deputy Collector C. Canaran in the discharge of this special duty."

The only officer with whom Mr. Canaran did not get on smoothly was the Sessions Judge of Calicut, Mr. G. R. Sharpe, who supervised his work as Magistrate and who called for explanation for the least delay in the disposal of criminal cases or submission of returns. The multifarious duties he had to discharge appeared to Mr. Canaran sufficient explanation for any delay. Mr. Sharpe eventually expressed his great admiration of the Deputy Magistrate's administration of criminal justice in his Division.

In the fulness of time, *viz.*, 31st December 1869, Mr. Canaran retired, being then in the 58th year of his age, and returned to Tellicherry where he had built for himself a fine mansion in the quarters known as Narangapuram. After the verification of his services he sent in an application to the Collector, Mr. A. Macgregor, on the 1st September 1870 setting forth his claims for a higher pension than what the general rules prescribed. His service extended to sixteen years in the Judicial and twenty-three years in the Revenue Department, in all thirty-nine years, for thirty-two years of which period he filled responsible appointments not below that of Court Sheristadar.

The Collector, Mr. A. Macgregor, forwarded the application with the following covering letter dated 9th September 1870 :—

"I have the honor to forward herewith the application of C. Canaran, late Deputy Collector of Malabar, for pension. He has brought forward claims for a higher rate of pension than the regulated amount, based on his services rendered to Government on three different occasions; first, in connection with the deportation of the Taramal Tangal to Arabia; secondly, in regard to the revision of settlement accounts throughout Malabar; and thirdly, in respect of the sale of the Escheat lands of Malabar.

"So far as my knowledge of the late Deputy Collector goes, I can testify to his long and valuable services, but I have no special acquaintance with the claims above enumerated, the occasions having arisen previous to my connection with the District.

"As, however, the Second Member of the Board is fully acquainted with the circumstances, it is unnecessary for me to go further into the matter."

Mr. William Robinson (late Collector of Malabar and afterwards Sir William, acting Governor of Madras) was then in the Revenue Board as its Second Member and he recorded the following Minute :—

"In this letter the late Deputy Collector of Malabar submits reasons for granting to him, as a special case, a rate of pension in excess of that allowed by the rules on the following grounds :—

"Special State services in connection with the Moplah disturbances in Malabar, in negotiating the peaceable removal of the Taramal Tangal, the High Priest, who instigated these atrocities in 1852.

"His services in effecting the revision of the holdings and adjustment of the revenue demand throughout the District.

"His services in the valuation and settlement of the Escheated estates of Malabar.

"On the first claim, I can only write in very earnest support. I myself conducted the enquiry into the terrible massacre at Mattanur in the Cottayam Taluk on the 5th January 1852, which led to the resolution to remove the High Priest from Malabar at all cost; and I was in intimate and confidential communication with the late Mr. Conolly in respect to all that took place at the time. It was his deep conviction and it is my own conscientious belief that C. Canaran's extraordinary—it is difficult to picture or even credit the utter terror that prevailed in the Hindu mind in Malabar at that time—courage, ability and tact in inducing (with the support of Attah Coyah and other Mussalmans with whom he had influence) the Taramal Tangal to leave the country of his own accord, saved much anarchy and bloodshed and very costly military operations. C. Canaran's high character for integrity and impartiality alone commended him to the fanatical ascetic at a time and under circumstances which would have precluded his negotiating with any other Hindu whatever on such a matter. The whole negotiation with the Tangal and Atta Coyah was conducted throughout by C. Canaran. The Tangal was at the time surrounded by several thousand fanatical Mussalmans who would to a man have thrown away life in his cause. C. Canaran's part in procuring the removal of the deified High Priest made him (C. Canaran) an object of fanatical detestation on the part of the rude Moplah population for years and his life was menaced.

"I am satisfied that had Mr. Conolly lived, he would have urged a special reward for these services. It could not be done at the time, as Mr. Strange's Commission led to a long period of unfavorable discussion and Mr. Conolly's tragical end removed the one who best knew and most thankfully acknowledged his worth.

"I may mention that this was not the only occasion on which the services of C. Canaran in respect to Moplah disturbances were most useful. During the serious outbreaks of 1849 (Manjeri), 1851 (Colatur), and 1852 (Mattanur), in all of which I was more or less engaged, C. Canaran's advice and aid were very serviceable and again, I believe, at the time of Mr. Conolly's assassination.

"There is no doubt that C. Canaran's life was more than once in danger and that his destruction was intended at the time Mr. Conolly was assassinated.

"I think he ought not to be allowed to leave the service of the State without recognition of the invaluable, though now almost forgotten, services.

"The second special service urged was more in the ordinary course of business. It consisted in revising the pattahs and the revenue demand of the District. C. Canaran was the chief mover in the matter and by dint of great toil, effected a settlement which has given great satisfaction to the people and resulted in a large increase of the revenue. He deserves all the credit he claims. I was Acting Collector at the time it was brought forward.

"The credit of the last important service noted, *viz.*, the settlement of escheated estates is entirely due to C. Canaran. He made the first tentative valuations and the settlement of the Bettatnad Escheat was undertaken at his earnest recommendation. It was so admirably carried out by him that the estimated proceeds of Rs. 60,000 grew under his hands to a realised result of about three lakhs. C. Canaran was then entrusted with the recovery and settlement of all Malabar Escheats for which, if my rocollection serves me aright, Rs. 4 lakhs were expected. The total realizations have exceeded Rs. 30 lakhs.

"The services of C. Canaran in this respect are so well known to Government and have so often been approvingly noticed that I need say little. But I must take an opportunity of recording my conviction—for I had large experience of the work and of the opportunities it afforded during my settlement of the Chenat Nair Escheats in 1848-49—that these results are almost entirely due to the great personal ability and perseverance of C. Canaran and his unassailable integrity. Had C. Canaran been so minded, he might have shown very creditable and unexpected results and made an enormous fortune himself, without exciting suspicion or running any risk of detection.

"I think that this service should be suitably acknowledged. I have been personally acquainted with C. Canaran's career since 1847, and I must record my testimony that I have met with no native official in my long service in whom are associated equal strength of character and ability with such unimpeachable intergrity and bold honesty of purpose."

The Board passed the following Resolutions on 28th October 1870:—

"The Board resolve to recommend Government to recognise C. Canaran's special services in a special manner.

"His resolute courage and pre-eminent ability were invaluable in the troublous times of the Moplah outrages, and his long career has been honourably distinguished throughout. Latterly he has been employed on exceptional duties and his services have resulted in exceptional gain to the State.

"The Board request the attention of Government to a memorandum appended to these Proceedings in which their Second Member has recorded his views on this subject. They are supported by long personal knowledge of C. Canaran and Malabar.

"There has never been a case in this Presidency in which the merits of an Uncovenanted Civilian demanded special recognition so strongly.

The Madras Government forwarded the application with their strong support to the Government of India and received the following reply on 1st February 1871.

"With reference to your letter No. 510 dated 21st December 1870. I am directed to state that the recommendation of the Government of Madras for the grant of a full-pay pension amounting to Rs. 600 a month to Churia Canaran, late First Class Deputy Collector in the Malabar District, has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for India for favourable consideration."

The result was the following Despatch from the Duke of Argyll, Her Majesty's Secretary of State, to the Governor-General of India, dated 4th April 1871.

"I have considered in Council your Financial Letter dated the 1st February last, No. 10, recommending that in consideration of the conspicuous and most valuable services rendered to Government by Churia Canaran, late First Class Deputy Collector in the Malabar District, he be granted on retirement a pension equal to full pay *viz.*, Rs. 600 *per mensem*.

"The grant of this pension is sanctioned as a special case."

Soon afterwards the town of Tellicherry began to reap the benefit of his long experience as a public servant and his still unflagging energy and abilities, for he was prevailed upon by Mr. Macgregor to accept the charge of the Tellicherry Municipality as its Vice-President, which office is now known as Chairman. During his *regime* were opened among others two most convenient roads, one leading from the old Katwal Cutcherry now used as the Police Station to the suburb of Tiruvangad and the other known as Pallikunnu road connecting the Cannanore road with the Vadi road. The former is the most crowded thoroughfare excepting the big bazaar road. The ditches through which the residents of Naranga-puram and Tiruvengad floundered to their homes during the monsoon were filled up and widened and converted into lanes fit for vehicular traffic. Hardly any compensation was claimed by the people whose land had to be taken up for the purpose, so influential was he with them. He also supplied a great want by constructing during his incumbency as Vice-President, a choultry at the Bandy-stand. And it was he who overcame the prejudices against female education by opening a girls' school at Tellicherry which was applauded by Government.

Mr. Canaran was sometimes brusque in his manners, and there was a clique formed against him by a few of the European residents of the town. What were the rights and wrongs of that quarrel it is profitless now to enquire. He had, however, the strong support of Mr. W. Logan, the then Collector of Malabar, who encouraged him thus: "you may rely on me to back you up to the fullest extent in everything you have done, acting *bona fide* in the law laid down for your guidance." He secured a victory and continued to be Vice-President till his death.

He mostly spent his leisure hours in reading Sanskrit works, especially those devoted to Theology and Philosophy. He was always prepared for death, and one of his favourite sayings was, "My bark has secured its port clearance and is waiting for fair wind to sail away." In the autumn of 1876 he fell severely ill of gangrene in the foot. He had the best medical aid available on the spot, but the disease could not be overcome, and he passed away peacefully on the 18th October. When the melancholy event was wired to Sir William Robinson, then Senior Member of the Council at Madras, he paid the following tribute of affection and veneration to the memory of his friend in a letter written to his nephew:—

"In this bereavement—so sore to you all, I too have lost the most esteemed and respected friend I have made in India—a friend of thirty years' standing and known to and respected by my friends—especially our mutual departed one Mr. Conolly long before that.

"Upright of character, noble of spirit, firm in will and just, he was one of those whom God gives in times of need such as we have passed through together and must ever remember."

Mr. Canaran was thin in person with a dark complexion and dignified presence. He had a broad and very prominent forehead, penetrating eyes, acquiline nose, and long chin. In stature he was tall, and in an assembly of men he could not but be noticed as a distinguished person, and he always asserted his individuality. He was very simple in his dress which was as a rule snow white, relieved by a colored laced head-cloth. He was reserved in speech and when he spoke he was deliberate, emphatic and measured in his expressions which always commanded attention. To the last he wrote a most beautiful and bold hand in Malayalam which defied imitation. His style in Malayalam was peculiarly graceful and charming, characterised as it was by brevity and lucidity.

He was a truthful and virtuous man remarkable for his unflinching integrity, generosity, hospitality and charity. He left very little property. In his death at the comparatively early age of 64, the Malayalee community in general and the Tiyya community in particular lost an ornament and a shining light. He is the best type of a self-made man who did his part and did it well, a virtuous model for imitation and emulation.

E. K. KRISHNAN.

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ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.

VII.

BUDDHISM OPPOSED TO CASTE.

ANANDA, one of the earliest disciples of the Blessed One sitting once beside a well, asked a drink of water from a Chandala woman, who was drawing water from the well. She answered: "How dost thou ask water of me, an outcast, who may not touch thee without offence?" Ananda replied: "My sister, I ask not of thy caste, I ask thee water to drink." And the Buddha afterwards took her among his disciples.

On the admission of this Chandala woman into the order of Bhikshunis, King Prasenajit and the Brahmins and Kshatriyas of Sravashti, feeling greatly scandalised, came to remonstrate with the Buddha on his conduct. The Blesed One employed a very simple proof to show the absurdity of caste distinctions.*

Between ashes and gold there is a marked difference, but between a Brahmin and a Chandala there is nothing of the kind. A Brahmin is not produced like fire by the friction of dry wood; he does not descend from the sky nor from the wind, nor does he arise piercing the earth. The Brahmin is brought forth from the womb of a woman in exactly the same way as a Chandala. All human beings have organs exactly alike; there is not the slightest difference in any respect. How can they be regarded as belonging to a different species? Thus Nature herself contradicts the assumption of any specific inequality among mankind.

The Brahmin is a specifically Indian phenomenon. In the neighbouring countries no Brahmin exists. There are masters and slaves. Wherever there are masters, there are also slaves; and where there are masters, there are also slaves. Even in India when a Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra abounds in wealth, the members of the Brahmin caste rise before him in the morning, minister to his wants, go not to sleep until he has retired to rest, wait for his commands, and use soft words to gratify him. Hence the very facts by which the Brahmins try to establish their superiority also contradict their theory. If a Brahmin commits sin, he suffers for it like every other man; like every other man the Brahmin also has to abstain

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* The arguments given below are based on the following:—*Asvalayana Sutra*, *Mathura Sutra*, *Ambatta Sutra*, *Vasetha Sutra* and *Dasa Brahma Jataka*.

from sin, if he desires salvation. Thus the ethical world order also gives the lie to the theory of specific inequalities among mankind. Again not only the Brahmin but also the Sudra, who is despised for his caste, is capable of good thoughts and noble deeds. Therefore the native capacities and talents are also everywhere the same. If a bath can purify a Brahmin from dust and dirt, so also is it capable of purifying every other man. Water too shows no special preference for the Brahmin. Further, when fire is obtained by the members of the so-called highest caste by rubbing costly fragrant sticks, it arises just in the same way as when the members of the so-called lowest caste rub pieces of wood from a dog trough or a swine trough, and renders exactly the same service. Fire therefore pays no special regard to differences of caste. Moreover, when crossing takes place between the members of different castes, the children in all cases take after the mother as well as the father and can be assigned to their proper parents. Therefore with man it is otherwise than with brutes, among which the crossing of a mare with an ass produces a mule. What support then is there for the belief in the existence of different species among mankind? On the contrary, even the good sense of the Brahmins themselves proves that it is the ethical worth of the individual that confers superiority. For, in distributing alms they prefer an ethically good-natured man, even when he may exhibit no distinguishing marks, nay even when he may not have gone through the initiatory ceremony known as the "second birth." Accordingly it follows that, while it is possible to obtain exact information concerning the purity or impurity of an individual's conduct, no exact information can be obtained as regards birth and descent.

In plants, insects, quadrupeds, snakes, fishes, and birds the marks that constitute the species are abundant, whereas amongst men this is not the case. Neither the hair, nor the formation of the skull, nor the colour of the skin, nor the vocal organ, nor any other organs of the body exhibit any specific differences. By birth and descent all men are alike. They become different only through differences in occupation, and they are designated accordingly. Some are called husbandmen, some artisans, some merchants, some kings, some robbers, some sacrificers, and so on. In one and the same caste different members follow different professions. Among the Brahmins we find physicians, necromancers; musicians;

merchants; agriculturists owning cattle, poultry and staves; wealthy landholders who give much wealth as the portion of their daughters and receive much when their sons are married; butchers who kill animals and sell their flesh; those who tell lucky hours; those who sit *dharana*; those who live like savages in the wilderness; those who get their livelihood after the manner of men who break into houses to steal; beggars with long hair, dirty teeth, immense nails, heads covered with dust, lice, and filthy bodies; those who profess to be released from evil desire and to be ready to release others also. Look closely, and you will see no difference between the body of a prince and the body of a slave. What is essential is that which may dwell in the most miserable frame, and which the wisest have saluted and honoured. The talk of 'high and low castes', of 'the pure Brahmins, the only sons of Brahma', is nothing but empty sound: the four castes are equal. He is a Chandala, who cherishes hatred torments living beings, steals or kills or commits adultery: who does not pay his debts, maltreats aged parents, or fails to support them, who gives evil counsel, hides truth, does not return hospitality nor render it, exalts himself and debases others, ignores their virtues, is impatient of their success. Not by birth, but by conduct, is one a Chandala. On one occasion the Blessed One was called an outcast by a Brahmin priest. The Blessed One replied; "Who is an outcast? An outcast is the man who is angry and cherishes hatred; the man who is wicked and hypocritical, he who embraces error and is full of deceit. Whosoever is a provoker and avaricious, has sinful desires, is envious, wicked, shameless, and without fear to commit sins, let him be known as an outcast. Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brahmin; by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brahmin."

From the point of view of religion Buddhism makes no difference between the castes. All are admitted without distinction and difficulty into the Sangha. As the great streams, however many they be, the Ganga, Yamuna, Achiravati, Sarabhu, Mahi, when they reach the great ocean lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name, "the great ocean," so also, the disciples of the Buddha, to whatever caste they may belong, when they join the order, lose their old name and old paternity, and bear only the one designation of Sakya Bikshus. Logically these premises should

lead to the suppression of castes. Did the Buddha then play the role of a social reformer? The Buddha did not preach a general crusade against the baneful system of castes. The conditions then prevalent did not need it. "There is no evidence to show that at the time of the rise of Buddhism there was any substantial difference as regards the barriers in question, between the peoples dwelling in the valley of the Ganges and their contemporaries, the Greeks or Romans, dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The point of greatest weight in the establishment of the subsequent development, the supremacy in India of the priests, was still being hotly debated. All the new evidence tends to show that the struggle was being decided rather against than for the Brahmins. What we find in the Buddha's time is caste in the making. The great mass of people were distinguished quite roughly into four classes, social strata, of which the boundary lines were vague and uncertain. At one end of the scale were certain outlying tribes and certain hereditary crafts of a dirty or despised kind. At the other end the nobles claimed the superiority. But Brahmins by birth (not necessarily sacrificial priests, for they followed all sorts of occupations) were trying to oust the nobles from the highest grade. They only succeeded long afterwards, when the power of Buddhism had declined.*

The final attitude of Buddhism to caste is best illustrated by the tract *Vajrasuchi* attributed to Asvagosha, who lived in the first century of the Christian era. The arguments of Asvagosha are based largely on the Brahminical writings themselves, for according to traditions he was a zealous advocate of the Brahminical religion before his conversion to Buddhism. His reasoning may be summarised as follows:—

Granted that the Vedas and Smritis and Dharma Sastras are good and valid, and all the teachings at variance with them are invalid, still the assertion that the Brahmin is the highest of the four castes cannot be proved from these books.

What is Brahminhood? Is it life (*Jiva*), or descent, or body, or wisdom, or practice (*achara*), or acts (*karma*), or knowledge of the Vedas?

If life constituted Brahminhood, how could, as is written in the Vedas, quadrupeds and some other animals become gods? Seven

* Rhys Davids in the article on Buddhism in the supplementary volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

hunters and ten deer of the hill Kalinjala, a goose of the lake Manasa-sara, a Charkravaka of Sharadvipa, all these, according to the Mahabharata, were born as Brahmins in the Kurukshetra and became very learned in the Vedas. Manu says in his Dharma-sastra: "Whatever Brahmin learned in the four Vedas with their *Angas* and *Upangas* receives gifts or fees from a Sudra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births a dog." From these it is clear that Brahminhood is not life.

If Brahminhood depended upon parentage or birth (Jàti), how could this be reconciled with the statement of the *Smriti* that many Munis had no Brahmin mothers? Achala Muni was born of an elephant, Kesha Pingala of an owl, Suka Muni from a parrot, Kapila from a monkey, Shringa Rishi from a deer, Vyasa Muni from a fisherwoman, Kaushika Muni from a female Sudra, Visvamitra from a Chandalini, and Vasishta Muni from a strumpet. If any one born of a Brahmin father or mother is a Brahmin, then even the child of a slave (dàsa or dàsi) may become a Brahmin. If he alone is a Brahmin who is born of Brahmin parents, then it must be established that the parents are pure and true Brahmins. But the fathers of the parent race of Brahmins are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Sudras. "In human society" says the Mahabharata,[1] "it is difficult to ascertain one's caste, because of promiscuous intercourse among the four orders. This is my (Yudisthira's) opinion! Men belonging to all the orders begot offspring upon women of all the orders." Further, according to the Mànava Dharma Sastra, the Brahmin who eats flesh loses instantly his rank; and also, he who sells wax, or salt, or milk, becomes a Sudra in three days. If Brahminhood depended upon birth, how could it be lost by any acts however degrading? Can an eagle by alighting on earth be turned into a crow? It is impossible.

Is the body the Brahmin? Then fire will become the murderer of a Brahmin, when it consumes his corpse; and such also will be every one of the Brahmin's relatives who consigns his body to the flames. Again, every one born of a Brahmin, though his mother were a Sudra, would be a Brahmin,—being bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of his father. But, according to the Mahabharata,

1. Vanaparva.
2. Anusasana Parva.

the son that is begotten by a Brahmin upon a Sudra wife is called *Paràsava*, implying one born of a corpse, for the Sudra woman's body is as inauspicious as a corpse.[2] Again, is the virtue of the holy acts sprung from the body of a Brahmin destroyed by the destruction of his body? Surely not, according to Brahminical theories; and, if not, then Brahminhood cannot consist in body.

Is it learning that constitutes Brahminhood? If that were the case, many Sudras must have become Brahmins from the great learning they possessed. Many Sudras, even *Mlechas*, are masters of the four Vedas, of Vyakarana and Jyotisha, of the Mimamsa and the Vedanta, and of Sankhya, Nyaya and Vaisheshika philosophies; yet not one of them is or ever was called a Brahmin. Nor can *Achára* and *Karma* be said to constitute Brahminhood. For many Sudras are everywhere following practices appropriated to Brahmins and performing the severest and most laborious acts of piety.

Why then should the higher life be prohibited to the Sudra? Why is it laid down that for the Sudra service and obedience paid to Brahmins are enough? Is it because in speaking of the four castes the Sudra is mentioned last? How can the order in which they are mentioned or written affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of? Does Indra become the lowest and meanest of beings, because he is mentioned in the *Panni Sutra* after the dog? Are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips, because we find the latter postponed to the former, for the mere sake of euphony in some grammatical rule? No; nor any more is it true that the Sudra is vile and the Brahmin high, because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varna* in a particular order. And if this is untenable, the inference from it that the Sudra must be content to serve and obey the Brahmin falls likewise to the ground.

Again, if as the Brahmins say all men proceeded from one Brahma, how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If one has four sons by one wife, the four sons having one father and mother must all be essentially alike. Among quadrupeds, birds, trees we see differences of conformations and organization whereby we can separate them into distinct species. But all men are formed alike without and within, except in such non-essential differences as are observed in the children of one and the same parents. It is therefore evident that all men belong to

one species. Again, is a Brahmin's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of the Chandala? Does not the one sustain life in the same way, and find death from the same causes as the other? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions, or the objects of those actions; in the manner of their birth, or in their subjection to fear and hope? If not, there can clearly be no differences between them. Further in the jack tree the fruit is produced from the stem, the joints and roots as well as the branches. Is one fruit therefore different from another so that we may call that produced from the roots the Sudra fruit? Surely not; nor can men be of four distinct species, because, as the Brahmins assert, they sprang from four different parts of one body. Accordingly the talk of four castes is altogether absurd; all men are of one caste.

To these arguments of the early Buddhists a modern Buddhist may add still others. It is not uncommon at the present day to find people laying much stress upon heredity. Some even hope to bring into existence a race of ethical men by artificial selection and breeding, and thus to facilitate and ensure the ethical advancement of nations and thereby of all mankind. Such views and hopes could originate only from a complete misapprehension of the nature of morality. The ethical character of an individual is something purely physical, and is so much the result of free voluntary adaptation and activity that no one can definitely assert of another, not even of himself, that he has always been ethical, that is, that he has always been guided by ethical motives. Moreover, even in the highly developed ethical man, the inborn traits of average general development are so mighty that morality, which essentially is the product of individual development, can rarely be expected as a natural factor to exhibit greater power than the other factors. Were man left solely to the control of heredity, he would exhibit much more the character of an animal than of an ethical being. In short, the ethical character is as little inherited as talent. Further, could inherited morality, lacking all the essentials of morality, such as sense of duty, freedom of resolve, &c., have any worth? The artificially bred ethical man, even if such a creature were possible, cannot stand much higher than the animal whose actions are impelled by instinct. The intellectual and ethical culture of an individual depends on voluntary conscious effort towards an end in view, and has therefore to do more with education than heredity.

Again, some suppose that those in power are necessarily more capable of development than those whom they regard as their inferiors. Such a supposition is unwarranted by evolution. One well-established fact of evolution is that in the "higher" form of a species there is a tendency to revert to the typical form, and that in the "lower" form the tendency is to rise to this typical form. Hence it would seem possible that the descendants of those who are now thought low and base might, if time and opportunity are allowed them, rise to the typical form of the species, and even go beyond it, while it is not impossible that the successors of those who are now regarded as representing a higher type might revert to the typical form of the species, and even degenerate to a lower condition. History can furnish ample proof of this.

From whatever point of view we may look at the question of caste, it is something unnatural. True to human nature the Buddha broke down the barriers of caste, and taught: "My *dharma* is a *dharma* of mercy for all. Proclaim it freely to all men; it shall cleanse good and evil, rich and poor alike; it is as large as the spaces of heaven that exclude none. Whoever loves will feel the longing to save not only himself but all others. He will say to himself: "When others are learning the truth, I will rejoice at it, as if it were myself. When others are without it, I will mourn the loss as my own. We shall do much, if we will deliver many; but more if we cause them to deliver others, and so on without end." So shall the healing word embrace the world, and all who are sunk in the ocean of misery be saved." Working in this spirit Buddhism became a religion for all, and has spread over vast tracts in Asia, India, Burma, Ceylon, Tibet, China, and Japan, and is slowly leavening the thought and life of Europe and America. We may hope for the day when its humanising influence will be so far-reaching and deep that the prejudices of class and colour which still persist in various quarters will be forced into the limbo of forgotten things.

"Pity and need
Make all flesh kin, there is no caste in blood,
Which runneth hue, nor caste in tears
Which trickle salt with all; neither comes man
To birth with *tilak*-mark stamped on the brow,
Nor sacred thread on neck. Who doth right deeds
Is twice born, and who doeth ill-deeds vile."

VIII.

BUDDHISM ELEVATES WOMAN.

The wives of five hundred noblemen, whose husbands had become *bikshus*, desired to follow their example; and the stepmother of Siddartha, Prajapati Gautami, beseeched him to admit them into the *Sangha*. He clearly saw that in accordance with his principles he could not refuse them admission. But he feared that it might give occasion for speaking against his institutions. He therefore advised them that they would find lasting reward and happiness if they should wear the pure white dress of lay women and seek to attain perfection by leading a pure, chaste and virtuous life. But Prajapati Gautami, not being satisfied, said to her companions: "Children, the Buddha has thrice refused to admit us into the *Sangha*, let us ordain ourselves, and then go to him; and he cannot but receive us." So they cut off their hair, put on the proper robe, and taking earthen bowls journeyed with painful feet to the Buddha. And Ananda, seeing them, was filled with sorrow, and again brought their petition to the Buddha, who said: "Are the Buddhas born only for the benefit of men? Have not Visakha and many others entered the path? The entrance is open for women as well as for men."

Thus did the Buddha and his disciples allow freedom to woman and assign her a high position. Though perfectly consistent with the principles of Buddhism which sees no difference between man and man except that which may exist by superiority of virtue, yet it was a bold step that the Buddha and his disciples took considering the low estimation in which woman was held in India at that time. The prevailing sentiment towards woman then may easily be judged from the following quotations from the Mahabharata: "The birth of a daughter in the families of those that are well behaved and highborn and endowed with fame and humility of character is always attended with evil results. Daughters when born in respectable families, always endanger the honor of their families, *viz.*, their maternal and paternal families and the family into which they are adopted by marriage."[3] "Sukrati, the grandson of Janaka, the ruler of the Videhas, has declared: 'There is the well-known declaration of the scriptures that women are incompetent to enjoy freedom at any period of their life'."[4] "Even if high born and

3. Udyogaparva.
4. Anusasanaparva.

endued with beauty and possessed of protectors, women wish to transgress the restraints assigned to them. There is nothing else more sinful than women."[5] "Women are fierce. They are endued with fierce prowess. There are none whom they love or like, so much as those that have sexual congress with them. Women are like those (*athawan*) incantations that are destructive of life. Even after they have consented to live with one, they are prepared to abandon him for entering into engagements with others. They are never satisfied with one person of the opposite sex. Men should feel no affection for them. Nor should they entertain jealousy on account of them. Having regard only for the considerations of virtue, men should enjoy their society, not with enthusiasm and attachment, but with reluctance and absence of all attachment."[6] But the step so boldly taken proved a great success. The commentary on the *Therigatha* gives us a picture of the success achieved. Many of the women were as distinguished for high intellectual attainments as they were for moral earnestness. "A good many of the verses ascribed to them," says Dr. Rhys Davids, "are beautiful in form, and not a few give evidence of a very high degree of that mental self-culture which played so great a part in the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life." Women of acknowledged culture are represented not only as being the teachers of men and as expounding the deeper and subtler points in the *Dharma*, but also as having reached *nirvana*, which is the highest result of intellectual activity and earnest zeal. In the "Lotus" (*Satdharmapundarika*) the Blessed One appears on his holy mountain surrounded by multitudes of disciples and among them are six thousand female saints.

Buddhism not only prohibits adultery but also discourages polygamy, so that throughout the countries in which it prevails this custom is exceptional, even among the rich and powerful; and in Ceylon, Siam, and elsewhere, monogamy only is legal. The polyandry of the Tibetan tribes is not a Buddhist institution. It is ascribed to the poverty of the country which renders it difficult for one man to support a family; to the necessity of protection to the wife during the absence of her husband on trading journeys and to the inferiority of females to males in point of numbers.

Buddhism makes the wife the companion of her husband, assigning her a freedom unknown to other religions, and she shares

5. Anusasanaparva.
6. Anusasanaparva.

his private and public activity. Speaking of the influence of Buddhism on the Burmese, Talboys Wheeler says:[7] "Their wives and daughters are not shut up as prisoners in the inner apartments, but are free as air to take their pleasure on all occasions of merry-making and festivals; and often they assume an independent position in the family and household, and gain a livelihood for themselves or superintend the affairs of husbands or fathers. Their affections are not pent up in little hotbeds of despotism as in Hindu households, but are developed by social intercourse into free and healthy play. Courting time is an institution of the country. On any evening that a damsel is desirous of receiving company she places her lamp in her window, and puts fresh flowers in her hair, and takes her seat upon a mat. Meantime the young men of the village array themselves in their best, and pay a round of visits to the houses where they see that a lamp is burning. In this manner attachments are formed; and instead of arbitrary unions between boys and girls, there are marriages of affection between young women and young men, in which neither parents nor priests have voice or concern."

Among Buddhists the ceremony of marriage is very simple and has no complicated superstitious observances connected with it. In Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Mongolia and in all Buddhist countries marriage is properly a civil contract witnessed only by parents and guardians, relations and friends. "Marriage in Burma," says M. M. Hla Ormy, an educated Burmese woman of high position, "is not a religious, but a secular function,—it is a compact on the part of husband and wife, which is made before the elders of the village, and which for proper cause shown can be terminated by either party. And the causes sufficient for the breaking of the marriage tie are very different from, and much more numerous than, those which prevail in the Western lands. Drunkenness, the opium habit (worst of all follies in Burmese eyes), spendthrift ways, or differences of temperament, are all, if proved, a sufficient cause for the elders to grant a divorce; and yet, in spite of this freedom, or perhaps the very ease of it makes the marriage bond more easy, the proportion of divorced to married couples is very small in Burma:—which is the best proof of all, of the loving and faithful nature of the Burmese, men and women alike."

7. History of India, Vol. III.

Most Burmese women, even in the villages, are able to read and write. No obstacle is placed in the way of female education. "At an early age the girls go to their school, and learn to read and write; the Buddhist scriptures, in Burmese and sometimes in mixed Burmese and Pali, forming the groundwork of their studies. All that they learn, their ideals of right and wrong, of the nature of the body and the mind, of illness and hygiene, comes from the same source; as also do those greater teachings of faithfulness, generosity and kindliness, which are perhaps the most eminent traits in the character of the Burmese women. Many learn at school the five duties of a wife:—to order her household aright, to be a hospitable housewife, to be a chaste and faithful wife, a thrifty housekeeper, and a skilful and diligent woman; and together with this instruction in ethics they receive a practical training in the ways of life at home." Females of the higher classes do not contemn industry nor affect the listlessness of some orientals. Women in Burma have the custody of their husbands' cash. "The Burmese woman," says Sir James George Scott K. C. I. E., "enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for." In Siam men of all ranks are greatly aided by their wives especially in public affairs, and in their movements are as men. A large proportion of the retail trade in Burma is in women's hands, and women even make long trading voyages on their own account. Even in Lamaistic Tibet women are granted complete independence both in business and personal conduct. "I can recall," says the Russian explorer Mr. C. T. Tsyleikov, "no occupation that is carried on in the country in which women are not actively engaged, and they often conduct great undertakings quite independently of men."

The great care with which the relations between the sexes were guarded by the leaders of the Buddhist reformation was a part of the moral reaction of the new movement on a social condition which, as already mentioned, permitted no independence to woman and did not hinder ascetics from going naked. Even at the present day Hindu ascetics are seen sometimes walking stark naked, and such temerity passes for high virtue even in the estimation of some Hindu graduates of Indian Universities. Against this custom the Blessed One protested with special energy. His disciples must be decently clothed, however starved or destitute; and there are early legends which express his indignation at the opposite custom. In

an old Buddhist legend a young maiden (Visàkha), seeing some of these offensive ascetics cries out, "O mother! if these are saints, what must sinners be like?"

IX.

THE FOUR GREAT TRUTHS.

(*Chatur Arya Satyani*).

1. Misery is associated with all stages and conditions of conscious life (*Dukkha*).

2. The origin of this misery is *trishna*, the desire to live for the enjoyment of self (*Samudaya*).

3. Emancipation from misery is possible by abandoning the *Upadanas*, all selfish cravings (*Nirodha*).

4. The noble eight-fold path (*Arya Ashtanga Marga*) taught by the Blessed One affords the means of abandoning selfish craving and attaining freedom from misery (*Marga*).

These four truths or affirmations form what may be called the articles of the Buddhist creed. But they are not put forward as dogmas which have to be accepted without inquiry. Dogmatism which prohibits inquiry would, instead of leading to the Buddhist *summum bonum*, dissuade the aspirant from his duty and therefore from the noble path. Nowhere has the Buddha said: "Avoid inquiry, for it will lead you where there is no light, no peace, no hope; it will lead you into the deep pit, where the sun and moon and stars and beauteous heavens are not, but chilliness and barrenness and perpetual desolation."[8] On the other hand, it is clearly laid down that nothing can be the teaching of the Buddha which is not consistent with reason, which cannot be subjected to the dry light of investigation. The idea of a religious authority is incompatible with Buddhism, which has psychological analysis for its foundations. "The very idea of a religious authority, external to men, is based on a childish psychology. A little thought will suffice to convince us that it is always and everywhere a fallacy. An authority only exists for us in the measure in which we recognise it as such, either unconsciously and without our understanding the motives that prompt us, or by virtue of an act of conscious reasoning. After all, it is always the adhesion of our mind and of our will which alone gives it weight." This is why the Buddhist *bhikshu*,

8. John Henry Newman.

unlike his Christian congener, never takes the *vow of obedience*. The aim set by the Blessed One before the aspirant being enlightenment, the belief in mere dogma will be of no avail. The creed of Buddhism is, therefore, like the creed of every genuine science, a register of results.

No one can question the fact that misery is associated with conscious life. We live in a world which is full of evil and misery. Were there no misery, there would be no need for the struggle for existence which is always and everywhere in evidence. Hunger and fear—these are the familars of the great majority of human beings, not to speak of the animals in the same condition. Schopenhauer has described the misery of life in vivid colors but without exaggeration as follows:—

"Having awakened to life from the night of unconsciousness the will finds itself as an individual in an endless and boundless world among innumerable individuals, all striving suffering, erring; and as though passing through an ominous uneasy dream, it hurries back to the old unconsciousness. Until then, however, its desires are boundless, its claims inexhaustible and every satisfied wish begets a new one. No satisfaction possible in the world could suffice to still its longings, put a final end to its cravings, and fill the bottomless abyss of its heart. Consider, too, what gratifications of every kind man generally receives: they are usually nothing more than the meagre preservation of this existence itself, daily gained by incessant toil and constant care, in battle against want, with death for ever in the van. Everything in life indicates that earthly happiness is destined to be frustrated or to be recognised as an illusion. The conditions of this lie deep in the nature of things. Accordingly, the life of most of us proves sad and short. The comparatively happy are usually only apparently so, or are, like long lived persons, rare exceptions—left as a bait for the rest.

"Life proves a continued deception, in great as well as small matters. If it makes a promise, it does not keep it, unless to show that the coveted object was little desirable. Thus sometimes hope, sometimes the fulfilment of hope, deludes us. If it gave, it was but to take away. The fascination of distance presents a paradise, vanishing like an optical illusion when we have allowed ourselves to be enticed thither. Happiness accordingly lies always in the future or in the past; and the present is to be compared to a small dark cloud which the wind drives over a sunny plain. Before it and behind it all is bright, it alone casts a shadow. The present therefore is for ever unsatisfactory, the future uncertain; the past irrecoverable. Life with its hourly, daily, weekly, and yearly small, great and greater adversities, with its disappointed hopes and mishaps foiling all calculation, bears so plainly the character of something we should become disgusted with that it is difficult to comprehend how any one could have mistaken this and been persuaded that life was to be thankfully enjoyed, and man was destined to be happy. On the contrary the everlasting delusion and disappointment as well as the constitution of life throughout, appear as though, they were intended and calculated to awaken the connection that nothing whatever is worthy of our striving, driving, and wrestling,—that all goods are nought, the world bankrupt at all ends, and life a business that does not pay expenses,—so that our will may turn away from it.

"The manner in which this vanity of all objects of the will reveals itself, is, in the first place, time. Time is the form by means of which the vanity of things appears as transitoriness; since through time all our enjoyments and pleasures come to nought; and we afterwards ask in astonishment what has

become of them. Accordingly our life resembles a payment which we receive in copper pence, and which at last we must receipt. The pence are the days, death the receipt. For at last time proclaims the sentence of Nature's judgment upon the worth of all beings by destroying them.

"Age and death, to which every life necessarly hurries, are the sentence of condemnation upon the will to live, passed by nature herself, which declares that this will is a striving that must frustrate itself. 'What thou hast willed', it says, 'ends thus; will something better.'

"The lessons which each one learns from his life consist, on the whole, in this, that the objects of his wishes constantly delude, shake and fall; consequently they bring more torment than pleasure, until at length even the whole ground upon which they all stand gives way, inasmuch as his life itself is annihilated. Thus he receives the last confirmation that all his striving and willing were a blunder and an error.

"Whatever may be said to the contrary, the happiest moment of the happiest mortal is still the moment he falls asleep, as the unhappiest moment of the unhappiest mortal the moment he awakens."*

Despite the gruesome misery of life man does not grow desperate. True to his nature as a living being he is continually striving after freedom from misery and working for self-preservation. With all his labour in civilization man strives for nothing else than his salvation and his perfection. In this endeavour he finds himself thwarted by the inevitable doom of death, but his instinctive impulse towards self-preservation creates in him the desire for deathless life. For the realization of this desire he must adopt means, and religion is the means by which salvation is to be obtained from evil and death. "Religion," says Wilhelm Bender, "is that activity of the human impulse towards self-preservation by means of which man seeks to carry his essential vital purposes through, against the adverse pressure of the world." Wherever man meets with facts and elements, laws and rules which cannot be made serviceable to him, but to which on the contrary he is obliged to suit himself and his life-aims there arises religion. The man, who seeks his own pleasures, meets with disappointment wherever he goes, but when he abandons all selfish cravings and conquers his egoistic tendencies, he attains freedom from misery and becomes the master of his own destiny. True religion has nothing to do with God or with the origin and purpose of the world. "The truth of the matter," as Professor Leuba says, "can be put in this way: God is not known, he is not understood, he is used—sometimes as meat purveyor, sometimes as moral support, sometimes as friend, sometimes as an object of love. If he proves himself useful, the religious consciousness asks for no more than that. How does he exist? What is he?

* Schopenhauer's The World as Will and Idea: Vol. II, chap. 46.

are so many irrelevant questions. Not god, but life, more life, a larger, more satisfying life, is in the last analysis, the end of religion." With true insight and wisdom has the Buddha declared: "Have I promised to reveal to you secrets and mysteries? I have, on the contrary, promised to make known to you suffering, the cause of suffering, and the way of escape from suffering." "As the vast ocean, O! disciples, is impregnated with one taste, the taste of salt, so also my disciples, this *dharma*, this teaching, is impregnated with one taste, the taste of deliverance."

In his attempts to find a perfect life, a life free from misery and death, man has through ignorance often fallen a victim to the creations of his own fancy. To satisfy his longing for a deathless life he invented immortal souls which could survive the death of the body. Judging the unknown, upon which he found himself hopelessly dependent for the realization of his desires, in the light of what was best known to him, that is to say, of what he thought of his own nature, he peopled the universe with gods, souls like himself but more mighty and capable of doing him good or harm. To win the favour of the gods or avert their wrath, man invented all kinds of prayers, charms, magical formulæ, and bloody sacrifices. Especially the last have played such a prominent part in religion that some writers on ethnology have been led to speak of sacrifice as "the fundamental doctrine of religion."[9] Even the gods have been supposed to become incarnate human beings and offer themselves in sacrifice for the salvation of mankind.[10] But all these are not essential to religion, and the Buddha clearly saw it. He put an end to all kinds of sacrifices, rejected the use of charms and magical formulæ, and pointed out the ineptitude of gods to save mankind. He taught that misery and suffering were not the result of the wrath of gods, but they were the consequences of man's ignorance of his own nature and his surroundings. The world process started with blind potentialities, and when self-consciousness dawned there was already an outcrop of inherited tendencies (*Karma*). The animal origin of man is a fact that can no longer be doubted. "From all known facts we may conclude," says Elie Metchnikoff,[11] "that man

9. Elie Reclus: Primitive Folk.
10. "A curious relic of primitive superstition and cruelty remained firmly imbedded in Orphism—a doctrine irrational and unintelligible, and for that very reason wrapped in the deepest and most sacred mystery: a belief in the sacrifice of Dionysus himself, and the purification of man by his blood."
11. Etudes sur la nature humaine, pp. 71, 72.

regarded from a purely zoological point of view represents a sort of arrested development in an anthropomorphic ape of an anterior epoch, something of the nature of a simian 'Monster.' Man may be regarded as a prodigy child of an anthropoid, born with a brain and intelligence much more developed than those of its parents." As a result of this origin there have survived in man qualities fitted for a non-moral life. But his development gave rise to the necessity of associating with his fellows into families, and this has led to the growth of social life, a life of morality. What is called the feeling of sinfulness is nothing else than the consciousness that the actions suited for an individual life are not suited to the requirements of a social or moral life, a consciousness which varies in proportion to the development of social claims and the moral sense.

Evolution takes place through all forms, from the mineral, through plants and all kinds of animal forms, until perfection is reached in the Buddha. All beings are what they are by their previous and present *karma*. The germ of enlightenment (*Nirvana-dhatu*) first manifests itself as sentient reflex activity, but gradually develops through the path of conscious concurrence into self-conscious rational reaction. In the initial stage of sentient reflex activity the living being acts under the influence of some inherent impulse which enables it to accomplish some good in a mechanical way. This reflex activity excludes all freedom and evil propensities; the living being is devoid of all notion of good or bad, and it lives, so to speak, in unconscious communion with the whole of nature. In the middle stage of conscious concurrence the living being begins a life of individuality, differentiating itself more and more as it progresses, from other beings and disputing with them for as large a share as possible of enjoyment and satisfaction. Though it has lost the primitive simplicity which in the initial stage enabled it to do some good unconsciously, yet it has acquired freedom. It is now constantly bent on evil, but when it does evil it knows not that it does evil.

During the final stage of self-conscious rational reaction the living being enters on the struggle for life, engages in the strife for comfort and pleasure, and sacrifices as many beings as it can, to the satisfaction of its own egoistic appetites: but when it does evil there arises within itself a feeling of remorse. Gradually the notion of duty takes root in the heart of man, and it becomes a check

to the free play of his passions. As he makes constant efforts to arrest his evil inclinations, his moral sense, the keen perception for improvement, becomes more and more active. He finds it necessary to wipe off the effects of his bad tendencies, and he resolves to suppress them in future. He thus gets a glimpse of the noble path that leads to perfection. The more intense this self-conscious reaction in a man is, the more does he feel a necessity to return to a stage similar to that of reflex activity, though acting in the full consciousness of freedom. He can henceforth do nothing else than good, but, instead of doing it in an involuntary mechanical way like the beings of the initial stage, he does it voluntarily with a view to accumulate merit. The deliberate accomplishment of good, even at the sacrifice of the demands of reflex vital activity and primal instinct opens out for him the noble path of enlightenment. He now perceives under what conditions it would be possible to traverse the path. By means of the efforts he makes to produce a moral transformation in himself he sees with certainty what further steps have necessarily to be taken to reach the goal. His final emancipation, his salvation from misery and death, is now assured. It is merely a question of time, for he is in possession of the means of hastening his emancipation. He suppresses more and more his egoistic inclinations and works for the good of all beings. When he has trained himself to feel his oneness with all that lives, his progress is completed, and he has reached the supreme end. By breaking all the chains which bind him to the world of individuality and form, his deliverance from the miseries concomitant to this bondage is effected. He enters the blissful port beyond the ocean of pain.

> "Art thou afraid of death? Thou wishest for life everlasting?
> Live as a part of the whole, when thou art gone it remains."

P. LAKSHMI NARASU.

(To be continued)

TEA CULTIVATION IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

IN among the Western Ghauts, or rather that portion of them, which is known as the Travancore mountains, lies a picturesque spot, called Poonmudi, some 2500 feet above sea level, one of the centres of the tea industry in Travancore. A few years ago, when coffee was the chief product of the locality, these estates stretched for miles around, and the immediate area was one long vista of gardens. But all that is now past history. The bad times came and the leaf disease worked a failure in coffee. One by one, the bulk of the planters deserted their coffee estates, either owing to the financial crisis or to their unwillingness to stem the tide, and the few, who could afford to stay on, took to the cultivation of tea, with the happiest of results. But the old tracts of deserted plantations were never reclaimed and have long since lapsed back to their maiden state of jungle, where the elephant, bison and the tiger have it all to themselves.

If scenery and situation are conducive to success in tea-planting, this must be a veritable paradise for planters. The whole place is a varied mass of mountains and valleys. They lie at our feet around us and above us. Graceful peaks, whose sides are thickly covered with jungle and forest, rise up from far below us and endeavour to tower above the sky line of the distant range, that limits our horizon.

It was monsoon time. The "North East" having set in, the situation was rich in colour; colours of the palest yellow green to the deepest shade of purple. The streams, that intersected the valleys, were full-throated, and burst with a constant resonant roar over precipitous crags and heights, eventually to lull themselves into silence in the density of the long stretches of forest, that encircled the far hills beyond.

Standing in front of the house, whose homeliness and comfort is better felt than described, one might without much effort of imagination fancy oneself at the Riviera. Terraces interlaced with paths succeed one another in a series of *steppes*, each with its long strip of lawn, fenced in with hybiscus hedges. On either side of the greensward one meets with a line of orange trees, planted at regular intervals, laden with fruit, shaded from every hue of green to the

golden tint of maturity. Still lower down, towards the stream that separates us from the *col* on which is situated the factory, banks of tall *cannas* stand, poising their rich red or yellow oriflammes over the terraced walks. Tall trees, silver oaks, poplar-like, tower majestically over the tea bushes and the ridge, where the cataract swirls and hisses, as it wends its troubled way into the distance and peace.

Skirting one's way across the boulders bridging yonder stream, one follows a winding path through a labyrinth of tea bushes up a slight rise, and in a few minutes arrives at the building, wherein the "cup that cheers, but not inebriates" springs into existence. Ere you enter, you may notice a number of small cattle with sacks slung across them saddlewise. These are on their return journey to some distant valley, where the pickers are at work, having just brought up a consignment of tea leaves for feeding the machines. Your attention may be drawn to the blood-marks on different parts of their bodies, bearing testimony to the handiwork of the small black leeches, that haunt the jungle paths at all times of the year; but are more particularly in evidence when the rains begin. So much for our surroundings.

It will perhaps be more satisfactory to begin from the beginning, and trace for ourselves the different steps the planter has to take before he can realise a cent of the capital he has invested in his estate—all ready made estates excepted.

First of all he has to clear the forest. The clearing is usually begun in November, during the dry weather and continues until December or January. The trees being felled, their branches are lopped off and the whole is left to dry until January at the latest, when the *debris* is fired. The way this is done is to clear the outside edge of the clearing to some extent so as to control the spread of the fire. This is the best that can be done but notwithstanding these precautions the fire sometimes spreads beyond, usually owing to the presence of eta which is particularly inflammable. When all is ready, the fire is started in several places in the area of demolition, usually in the centre and at the ends. The operation is not without danger, and those engaged in lighting the fires endeavour to do so simultaneously, as the progress of the fire is usually fierce and rapid.

The more numerous the points the better ; as it is considered to be a bad thing to have too heavy a burn, as much of the nutriment of the surface soil, for the time being, is thereby destroyed.

In the meantime nurseries have been prepared either from seed got locally or from Assam or possibly the more valuable indigenous from Manapuri. These nurseries require much attention and watering. The plants have to be of nine to twelve months' growth prior to being planted and in the case of seed, it should be planted between June and October, so as to be ready for transplanting from the nursery to the clearings.

The next step is the construction of roads and surface drains. At the same time the operation of "lining" and "holing" is commenced. The drains are cut usually at forty feet intervals at a gradient of one in fifteen; this gives a diagonal line from the ridge of the water-shed to the line of the water course. The roads are set at a gradient of one in eight to one in ten and are cut as required. Having thus mapped out the ground, the process of "lining" and "holing" is commenced. This consists of taping out the intervening spaces with parallel lines and crossing them so as to mark out squares of four feet side for the centre of each hole. These holes are dug eighteen inches deep, and are filled in with surface soil, into which the shrubs are planted with the first rains of the south-west monsoon (*i. e.* in June). Once planted, the shrubs are allowed to grow for three years and are occasionally cut down so as to increase their lateral growth. Then, at the end of the third year, the plucking commences. I may mention that once the estate is in working order, the pruning takes place, ordinarily, once in every eighteen months or two years.

In the meantime the lines for the coolies, the factory, the superintendent's bungalow and all other necessary constructions have to be built. Having thus briefly described what has actually to be done in laying out an estate, we will next consider the part played by the factory in the preparation of the tea for the market.

The leaves have first to be plucked. The operation of plucking consists of taking the tender shoots. These shoots comprise three to four leaves, inclusive of the tip or undeveloped leaf or "bud." The plucker gathers the tip and the next two or three leaves below, taking care to leave one leaf on the shoot, in order that the new

shoot for the next plucking will spring therefrom. The tip and first leaf give what is known as *orange pekoe*, the second and third leaves yielding the blend known as *pekoe* and *pekoe souchong*.

Having gathered the leaves in baskets, they are taken to the factory, where, in a long upstairs room, they are spread out thinly on to jute Hessian *tatties*. These *tatties* are placed in layers one above the other at intervals of six inches distance apart, the surplus hot air from the "drier" in the lower room is utilised by being drawn up into the withering room by means of fans to assist in the withering process. The withering process may be said to take about sixteen hours, but in a measure depends upon the weather. A good "wither" reduces the leaf into the flexibility of a kid-glove.

After the withering is complete, the leaves are taken downstairs and are placed in a roller. This process lasts from about an hour to an hour and a half. This "roller" is a machine consisting of a huge cylindrical brass box, the base of which is given a rotatory movement and has the effect of breaking the cells of the leaf and of giving it the necessary twist.

The next stage is to allow the leaves to ferment for a short time after which they are put into the "drier," a very formidable looking machine, containing a dozen or so of wire gauze trays upon which they are spread. The machine is heated up to 220° Fahrenheit and the heat is drawn down through the trays by means of an exhaust fan and the surplus air is filtered through the withering room above stairs in the manner already described. The tea leaves are now virtually ready for the market and the process of preparation is thus complete.

The next phase is sorting the leaves into the different classes of tea, which is done by passing them through a wire mesh cylinder divided into compartments, each compartment containing a different size mesh. The finer the leaf, the finer the tea. The tea is then gathered and stored in different large bins and as the quantity stored becomes sufficient for a "break" or one hundred chests, it is taken out, re-fired and packed for the London markets.

The life of the tea planter is not quite such a bed of roses, as some people imagine. The difficulties he has to face in Travancore are not dissimilar to those he has to put up with in Assam and other parts of India, although I believe that while labour is more readily

obtained in Travancore the prices obtained for Assam tea are higher, but as the cost of production there is greater, the result is that their relative positions are about equal. The Travancore planter pays less and gets a smaller profit while his comrade in Assam gets a bigger price in the market for his produce but has to pay more for the production. So that it is six of one and half a dozen of the other. There is, however, one common ground upon which they can both meet and that is the labour question, for in both cases the demand is greater than the supply. This question has caused so much friction of late that without wishing to enter into any controversy, I may be pardoned for making a few observations upon the subject and for stating a few facts which will give the ordinary layman some basis for working out his views.

The planter lives isolated from the rest of the world. His estates lie among the mountains and on the fringes of the jungle. The greater the altitude the more difficult it is for him to obtain labourers, for the native, unlike your European, is not braced up in the same manner by the cold, but becomes by reason of his inherent mode of life,—liable to contract fevers and pulmonary complaints. Thus it is that here, as in other parts of India, he is difficult to obtain and once obtained somewhat difficult to retain. Some do settle down in the hills and become thoroughly acclimatised, but their numbers are comparatively few. The result is that as the employer cannot himself go about the low lands touting for coolies, or labourers, he has to employ the services of a middleman, who, in these parts, is known as a *Kongani.*

The system, to put it briefly, is this: the *Kongani* undertakes to obtain a given number of coolies at a certain rate per head. For this purpose he requires an advance which may be rupees ten per head for every cooly he undertakes to bring (say fifty coolies=Rs. 500) and with the advance he goes down to the plains and touts. That an advance should be required to perform a contract of this kind naturally astonishes the average Englishman, but then the average Englishman has to get accustomed to a good many little surprises of this sort out in this country.

The cooly requires an advance of some sort before he will leave his people. All the world knows that he maintains a host of relatives, too numerous to be mentioned, in his house who eat up the whole of his substance and leave him,—the least thrifty of men—in a

chronic state of pauperism, and he is therefore obliged to leave them some funds to go on with and at the same time sufficient to defray his own expenses to the mountains. Hence the necessity for an advance. So that what the *Kongani* is supposed to do with the advance he receives, is to pay it over to the coolies for the purposes already mentioned.

Now what really happens is this. The *Kongani* may possibly obtain thirty coolies (out of the contract fifty) and with these return to the estate, where he explains that he has actually spent Rs. 500 in advance and that of the fifty to whom he has paid advances twenty absconded and he requires a further advance of Rs. 200 to fill the places of the recalcitrant ones. In some cases the *Kongani* is no more seen, he quietly pockets the advances he has obtained and goes elsewhere to try the same game. When he has practically exhausted his iniquitous resources, he retires into forced obscurity where he enjoys his ill-gotten gains. The planter has something more profitable to do than to go hunting through a district, some eight thousand square miles of territory, in order to run the defaulter to earth where the most rapid means of locomotion is a bullock *bandy*. The only remedy against the defaulter is under the Penal Code, for the present Criminal Breach of Contract Act applies only to cases where personal skill is the essence of the contract.

The *Kongani* is after all only a man of straw. He is the sole means of supplying labour to the planter, and the latter prefers to wink at the former's yarns about defaulting coolies rather than to get none at all. Thus he humours the *Kongani*, pays the further advance and gets a few more coolies and so it goes on, the *Kongani* gradually steeping himself deeper and deeper in debt to the planter. I know of cases in which a *Kongani* is over Rs. 4800 in debt to the planter.

What then is the planter's remedy? He may possibly bring a civil suit, as some, I know, have done, against the *Kongani*; but in no case has he derived any benefit by this step. In fact, in a recent case, the planter obtained a decree for Rs. 700 and costs, but the man of straw had nothing available for attachment, and if he had, he successfully hid it; the result however of the litigation and the execution proceedings was, that beyond having detained the judgment debtor in a civil jail at his own expense for six months, the planter-plaintiff not only did not realise the decree amount but was furthermore an extra Rs. 300 out of pocket.

On the other hand, if a *Kongani* acts honestly, he can usually obtain the number of coolies he undertakes to supply, and being paid so much commission per head *per diem* for every cooly he brings, he can make a good deal of money.

Next as to the *cooly*. He is like the Irish militiaman who joins half a dozen regiments, draws extra bounty, and is only discovered when all the six regiments are called out for training at the same time. There is nothing to prevent the cooly absconding with the advance he may have received from the *Kongani*. Many as a fact do go round the plantations obtaining advances through *Konganis* and then strangely and mysteriously disappear. The latter's resources are extremely limited and he has to pay the piper and face his luck, and if he does not, so much the worse for the planter. The cooly's shortcomings, it is true, fall within the Criminal Breach of Contract Act, but the number of prosecutions under it are remarkably few. Possibly this is due partly to the smallness of the sums advanced to the defaulting cooly and partly because of the inconvenience attending such a prosecution, the court not infrequently being miles and miles away from the plantations.

Now let me say a few words about that much abused and misjudged individual the "planter." He is not a saint! Few Englishmen are! Nor does he profess to go about with a halo round his head; but he is certainly not the ogre, some people imagine him to be. I have visited the estate of many planters both in North and South Travancore and everywhere I have been, I have seen the cooly treated with uniform kindness and consideration. I have no hesitation in saying that cases of ill-treatment and cruelty are very exceptional, and it may be noticed that in the one or two cases that have occurred in Travancore during the last few years, the delinquents were irresponsible young men, who were not planters in the accepted sense, but who were apprenticed to an estate in order that they might learn something of tea planting, preparatory to starting for themselves, or perhaps to eke out an existence as a modified form of loafer—young men whose fathers probably preferred to keep them out of England rather than share the odium of their misdeeds at home. These men however are few, but unfortunately, few as they are, are those who have cast such a stigma upon a class to whom they do not really belong. The real planter is as

genuine and as honest a man, as one could wish to meet; he is usually a large-hearted individual, and, in nine out of ten cases, a man of birth and education. The peccadillos of the few are readily enlarged upon by those who wish to make capital out of them.

The planter knows what he is about and certainly knows better than to ill-treat his coolies. If he practised a fraction of the cruelties I have heard people ascribe to him, his estates would be so absolutely denuded of labour, that his work would come to a stand-still and no advance however large would induce the cooly to leave the plains. It is difficult enough for the planter to obtain the labour he requires without resorting to a line of conduct which must only further deplete the supply and end in financial ruin. In the first place, he cannot afford to act the part of a slave driver and in the second, even if so inclined, (which I most vehemently protest, he is not) he is not so lacking in common sense as to be unable to appreciate the disastrous results that must consequently follow.

Let us now turn to the planter's chief trouble, the labour question. I have already stated how he obtains his coolies *i. e.*, by making "advances" through the *Kongani*. The "advance system" is no doubt a nuisance; some people advocate its abolition. None will welcome its removal more readily than the planter provided that the labour required can be obtained by other and more efficacious means. The necessity for abolition contains an admission that there is a defect, and if there is a defect, there must be a cure. One does not kill the patient to save him dying from the disease, but rather one tries remedies suited to his constitution. The depression in the tea trade has placed the planter's future in such a precarious condition that he does not feel in a healthy state for interesting legislative experiments.

The cooly comes voluntarily to the planters. It has been suggested that he does not. No doubt the "advance" is the primary inducement, but it cannot be said that any undue advantage is taken of the cooly. He comes, because he is poor and wants money; his chronic condition is penury, and he is a pauper because he chooses to remain one. If the "advance system" is done away with, rice will have to be substituted. The cooly's hangers-on have to be conciliated, otherwise they will exercise their all-powerful influence and detain him at home. It is certainly cheaper and more convenient to grant advances than to

go carting bags of rice about the plains as a substitute. Besides, it costs some money, however little, for the cooly to get to the hills, and he has none. No one in this country stirs without an "advance" and the cooly is no exception. Your carpenter wants an "advance" for wood, your boot maker an "advance" for the shoes you have ordered and naturally the cooly—a still more impoverished individual—wants his "expenses" to the hills. What then is to be the fate of the poor planter who refuses to give an "advance"? Simply this, that he will get no coolies,

One solution of the labour question has been suggested by Sir H. Cotton, and it is a suggestion which may commend itself to the Englishman at home, but not to the planter out here, who knows the country and appreciates his own difficulties. The suggestion is to pay a higher rate of wages, on the principle, that more wages holds out a greater inducement to the labourer. This will certainly not wipe out the "advance system." The cooly has to get to the hills and as I said before, as the cooly lives from hand to mouth on the plains, you must supply him with funds and buy off his blood-suckers and parasites. Sir Henry Cotton's remedy is just the sort of remedy one would expect from a well-paid Government official, but it would be the very last one he would make if he were a tea planter. It seems to me that the suggestion, if acted upon, beyond putting the planter to the expense of a greater outlay, will make no appreciable difference. In the first place, let us note that the Indian cooly has never grumbled about the present rate of wages for the simple reason that they are ample for his wants. From the planter's standpoint we find the following objections: the planter cannot, owing to the depression in the tea industry, afford to pay a higher scale of wages. Moreover, more pay in England, usually means more work, but that is not from my experience the cooly's way of thinking. He is by nature a dawdler and the more pay he gets the less work he will do for the simple reason that he is paid by the number of days he works and not by any fixed term; so that, if he is paid more, he will take more holidays and consequently does less work. He is in this respect a counterpart to the Spaniard who earns in two days sufficient to enable him to loaf for the rest of the week, and it is not that he *can* idle, but that *he does*.

The industry that can bring in a revenue of two million pounds sterling annually to the British exchequer is worth fostering and the man who can save the planting community from the destruction that threatens to overtake it, will deserve well of his country.

1902. FREDERICK J. R. V. HUNT.

Since writing the above article I see that the Madras Government have put the Planters' Labour Act [1903] into force, in certain Districts of the Presidency. It is not unlikely that some regulation, much on the same lines, will be introduced into Travancore. It will be interesting to watch the results of the new enactment.

THE MALA ADIYAR OF THE LOWER PERIYAR VALLEY.

MALABAR is a land of wonders. Side by side with people of the highest culture and civilisation, we find people who are steeped to the lips in the quagmire of superstition and ignorance. There is not within the whole of India a province which offers a better field for the patient researches and study of the ethnologist, the archæologist, or the sociologist than the land of Parasurama and Sankaracharya. Every nook and corner of the country has its own tale to tell. The field of inquiry is practically illimitable and awaits the patient toil of scholars and antiquarians to yield a plentiful harvest of information which the scientific historian may avail himself of. In the mountains and fastnesses of this interesting country which has happily been called the 'Italy of other lands' there have been dwelling from time out of mind various hill tribes whose customs and manners have been of the most primitive kind and who have been living through countless generations in the same state of barbarism in which their ancestors were living. We find a few glimpses of these hill tribes and of their mode of life in *Chilappathikaram* and other classical Tamil works written more than two thousand years ago. Left to themselves their evolution from barbarism to civilisation will take ages. The people of the plains ought to lend them a helping hand and make strenuous efforts to recover them from barbarism so that they may become a part of the body politic and be a tower of strength to the community. It is the purpose of this paper to give a brief account of an interesting people, the Mala Adiyar, who live in the lower Periyar valley, and it is hoped that the readers of the *Malabar Quarterly Review* will not find it uninteresting.

In stature and physique, colour, facial conformation, dress, habits, language, customs and manners, the Mala Adiyar or "Mountain Slaves" of the lower Periyar valley resemble the Uralis of Neriyamangalom more than any other of the eight principal tribes inhabiting the hill-forests of Travancore. Of middle height, they are fairly thickset, dark-brown in colour, with brownish-to-black eyes, curly hair, flat noses, protruding upper lips, receding foreheads and chins, prominent cheek-bones and, generally, smooth faces. Both men and women wear the hair long, either loose or knotted on the top of the head. The men ordinarily wear a loin-cloth reaching

down to the knees, while another, thrown over the body, is passed over the right shoulder and under the left arm, the ends being tied into a knot over the chest. The women, on the other hand, wear a single cloth, the upper end of which is passed under the arms and overlaps over the bosom. The lower end reaches above the knee. The ornaments of the men consist of earrings of iron or brass that resemble, in shape and workmanship, those worn by the lower castes in the Tamil country. Frequently, as many as six pairs of rings are worn in one and the same ear-hole. Rings of the same materials are also worn on the fingers and toes. The ear-lobes of the women are pierced when young and enlarged by the insertion of rolls of *Eeta* leaves (*Beesha Travancorica*). When, by this treatment, the holes in the lobes are enlarged sufficiently, to admit of the insertion in each of a disc of wood about two inches in diameter, the training is regarded as sufficient and complete. The usual ornaments thereafter consist of discs of the soft white wood of a species of *Grewia* common in the forests of the locality; sometimes, however, *vallies* or flattened rolls of lead are worn. Several strings of glass beads of many colours, but usually of red, white and black, are worn around the women's necks; while, like the men, their fingers and toes are ornamented with rings and their waists with zones of iron and brass.

Like most other hill-men, the Mala Adiyar are filthy in person and habits. The men and children, particularly, appear to be averse to bathing, their dark skins being frequently coated over with an ashen incrustation of dirt and mud. From want of due attention to the hair, it turns a reddish-yellow in colour, particularly at the free ends, and is sometimes matted. Their cloths are invariably dirty and emit an offensive odour. Indeed, the struggle for existence in the inclement wilds in which they live appears to demand almost all their time. To procure the means of daily subsistence, to eat frugally when that is secured, and to sleep away the attendant fatigue of catering for himself and his dependants,——these are the items that make up his little even-tenored day, except, perhaps, when he is called upon to assist his friends at festivities attendant on births, marriages or funerals, or when, pleading the "exigencies of the Government Service," the mighty forest guard presses him into aiding the "Sirkar" under pain of immediate and condign chastisement.

The chief occupations of the tribe are shifting cultivation, hunting with dogs, and fishing. Besides living upon the indigenous wild yams, roots and fruits and the smaller animals of the forest, such as the Iguana lizard, tortoise, armadillo, hedgehog, hare, mousedeer, and fish, they cultivate, in small patches, all the commoner crops raised in the low country. Rice, plantains, maize, millet, tapioca, yams, brinjals, chillies, pumpkins, gourds, dal, ginger and turmeric are frequently seen growing in the greatest luxuriance near and around their meagre huts. A good deal of the produce is consumed by the cultivators themselves but a portion is bartered in the low country in exchange for salt, cloths, knives, tobacco, arrack, opium and bhang. There are few among them that are not addicted to the practice of indulging in spirituous liquors; some of them smoke bhang, but the majority of the men as well as a large number of the elderly women are slaves to opium-eating. Indulgence in intoxicants and narcotics is, however, seldom permitted to exceed the bounds of decency, and few are the cases of violence resulting from their use.

As a tribe, the Mala Adiyar are fond of music and dancing. Singing, with many a simple joke, frequently of pointedly local application, accompanied by tom-toms of wood or bamboo covered over with deer-skin, is their usual pastime; while, on special occasions, both men and women dance round a bonfire to the accompaniment of loud chanting, tom-toming, the clapping of hands and dry bamboo slips and the jingling of tiny brass bells tied on to the arms and legs. When dancing, both men and women are attired in the cleanest cloths procurable. Girdles of deer-or Sambhur-skin, with the hair on, are worn over the waists from which their ends descend as far down as the knees; cloths are sometimes tied over the head or folded and thrown over the shoulders; in the latter case, the ends are held in the hands while dancing.

The language of the Mala Adiyar is Malayalam which is, however, spoken with a quaint Tamil intonation resembling that of the Kakalans. Not one of them is literate and no attempt appears to have been made yet to win them over to Christianity, as has been the case with the Mala Arayans. The remarkable customs and manners and the simple yet rigorous religious observances of the tribe, however, must always claim our attention and interest. In the dense

evergreen wilds that they have selected for their dreary abode, one is surprised to find, almost unimpaired, the survival of practices, particularly religious observances, that seem to claim a very remote antiquity. To what extent these practices have been borrowed from their ancient Aryan conquerors, to what extent they have descended to them from their equally great pre-Dravidian ancestors, or how much of them is the direct result of the evolution of indigenous thought and sentiment, it is not in the province of this article to discuss. Suffice it to say that, in themselves, these customs, manners and practices are worthy of note and study.

Birth.—When a woman is advanced in pregnancy, she is escorted by her husband to her father's hut, which is often miles away from her own. Here, at some distance from the dwelling huts of the family, a new one is erected for her use. Her husband, after giving her parents such provisions and necessaries as he might be possessed of, leaves her with them and returns to his home. When the child is born, he is apprised of the circumstance, as soon as convenient. He has then to visit his wife with a fresh supply of provisions and things, some of which are presented to the midwife. A feast to the neighbours is then given. On the 4th day, the child is named. There is no special ceremony or function beyond the circumstance that the name itself, having been previously decided upon by the child's mother's relatives, is now openly announced for the first time, by its maternal grandmother, in the presence of the assembled tribesmen. The names most commonly in use for boys are Kunjen, Kotha, Kanden, Moli, Kannen, Ramen, Velayuthen, and Moruni; while those for girls are Kochi, Kaychi, Pankachi, Kurumba, Kali, Kothama, Kunjama and Mati. It will be observed that the names beginning with the letter "K" are the most common, that few names pertain to the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and that the rest are only corruptions, *tat-bhavams* or *grahmyams* of ancient Aryan or Dravidian words. However: for the first nine days after the birth of a child, its mother lives with it in her own hut. During this time, not only is she herself strictly interdicted from touching any person or thing outside it, but her female relatives and friends who administer to her own and the infant's necessities are also regarded as unclean. After a bath on the 10th day, the woman and child enter another hut also specially built for their temporary accommodation. This hut is, however,

not quite so far from the dwelling-huts as the first one. Here she lives for another ten days; after which her mother touches her, both bathe, and the pollution is considered at an end. The woman leaves her parent's hut only a month after the birth-pollution is over. Her husband once more takes her back to his hut where, on arrival, a "sing-song" or dance is got up to commemorate the joyous occasion.

Unlike the somewhat loud and fantastic practices in vogue among the higher castes in the low country, the Mala Adiyar have no ceremonies or festivities when a girl attains to years of discretion. The only observance appears to be a fortnight's pollution during which she is segregated from the family in a separate hut at a distance.

Marriage.—When a girl is about three or four years old, her parents promise to give her in marriage to a boy aged eight or ten. The Marumakkathayam law of inheritance, in which a man's sister's children succeed to his property, being in vogue among the tribe, the legitimate, if not the most eligible bridegroom is the girl's own cousin (uncle's son). The betrothal ceremony consists in the mother of the girl receiving a string of *red* glass beads from the bridegroom and tying it round the neck of her daughter. A loin-cloth is, at the same time, accepted and worn by the girl. The usual simple rejoicings wind up the ceremony. On the girl attaining years of discretion, she is claimed. Besides the parties themselves, as many of the members of the tribe as possible assemble in a large pandal at the bride's house. At the auspicious time, determined upon by the seer, or elder present, the mother of the bridegroom stands up in the assembly and declares her willingness to take care of the bride as if she were her own child. The bridegroom, in his turn, then stands up and declares that, in sickness or health, sunshine or storm, in plenty or famine, he would support his bride as best he could then and ever after. The bride, who sometimes has as many as ten "companions" or bridesmaids then promises, in return for the assurances already received, that so long as her husband lives, "she will not hold the hand of another man." This is the ceremony, pure and simple; there are no incantations and no prayers. In the feast that follows, the flesh of the Iguana lizard, which is esteemed a great delicacy, forms a necessary and important item. The flesh of the hedgehog, various

kinds of fish, opium, arrack, tobacco and betel and nut are also regarded as essentials at a marriage feast. After the feast, the bride retires to a separate hut. The next day she is taken to the bridgegroom's house, her parents and other relatives and friends accompanying her. The party is accommodated in a pandal erected for the occasion. Here, another feast is given by the bridegroom. Singing and dancing follow and are kept up till morning. The bride, it is interesting to note, does not speak to the bridegroom for two or three days; if necessary, she communicates with him through his or her mother or other elderly female of the family. During the marriage ceremony and festivities, the costumes of the bride and bridegroom are, as might be expected, fuller and more distinctive than on ordinary occasions. The bridegroom wears a cloth, often laced, tied over his head while another is neatly folded and thrown over his shoulders. The *thàli* string of the bride is worn a little longer than the other strings of beads on her neck. She is also well dressed in a long, white cloth tied round the loins and another thrown over the shoulders. Her hair is ornamented with wild flowers, chiefly jasmine.

Among the tribe, widow re-marriage is permitted. Ordinarily a man has only one wife; but sometimes he has two or three. If a man commits adultery, he has to compensate the woman and her relatives with presents of money and grain; but, if a woman be guilty of the same offence, she is discarded by the tribe. She may, however, be received back into her father's house where she remains until re-married by a man of a kindred tribe or clan. The Mala Adiyar of Erumukam and Athirapalli are affiliated with the tribe in the Idiyaramaad, with whom alone they intermarry.

Religion—The Mala Adiyar do not believe in the superior deities of the Hindus; but Shastha and Bhagavathi are occasionally worshipped. The manes, too, are worshipped only in seasons of scarcity, sickness or death At others, the animistic practice of adoring the stone at Athirapally under the name of Cherthavu (probably Shastha) is significant as the survival of, perhaps, one of the most ancient forms of worship. The several groves and even individual trees and rocks so religiously guarded against intrusion or destruction are looked upon with sentimets of awe and reverence. Evil spirits are dreaded and propitiated with sacrifice and incantation more than good ones.

Diseases, Death and Funeral rites.—The commoner diseases prevalent among the Mala Adiyar are fever, diarrhœa, and dysentery. Unlike the Mannans and Moothoovans they do not suffer from smallpox. They are not a long-lived race. The absence of hair on the faces of the men is frequently misleading in the calculation of their age, and, as they themselves are unable to correctly count beyond the number ten, their own statements must be regarded with caution. Nevertheless, the paucity of old people among them may be looked upon as proof of the fact that, in spite of their healthy, active life, they die young. Indulgence in narcotics from youth coupled with their precarious subsistence at the best of times may, in part at least, account for this sad fact.

In case of illness, the sick person, who is said to be visited by and under the influence of the spirits of his or her fathers, is removed from the family hut and laid in a separate one. The exorcision of the manes is then proceeded with. Seers among them, learned in the art, go through many tedious gesticulations, croonings and incantations and when the proceedings are enlivened by tom-toming, they resemble, in several particulars, the noisy, fussy antics of the familiar Velan (വേലൻ) of the low country. In bad cases, the manes are propitiated by fowl sacrifices.

The presence of death in a family generally affects even remote members of the clan, because of the feeling of kindred and relationship running through the whole. When a man dies, the calamity is attributed to the anger of the manes or a malignant spirit who is forthwith propitiated with sacrifice. The *thali* string of a woman is broken as soon as her husband dies. The body is removed for interment as early as possible after death, the time required to prepare a grave, at a distance from the village huts being, in most cases, the only interval permitted to supervene. No member of the deceased's family partakes of food for twenty-four hours succeeding the funeral. An elder, often no relative of the deceased, is selected by the bereaved family as the celebrant of the funeral obsequies. The funeral *cortege* ordinarily consists of ten men, not counting the celebrant. Only these eleven men are permitted to go to the grave. The body is carried on a rude bier improvised of *Eeta* reeds and sticks. It is enshrouded in a new cloth and is rolled up in the mat on which the person died. The grave is large and deep; its bottom and sides are neatly paved with cross-sticks and split bamboos, and

two new cloths are spread over the former. The body, bier and all, is lowered into it and the whole covered with two more new cloths. Before interment, however, that portion of the shroud covering the face of the dead is tenderly and carefully torn out and kept by the celebrant. The bier is then once more covered and fastened. The funeral party now arrange themselves, five on each side of the grave and sit down near its margins with their backs towards it and their faces away from it. The body is laid with the head to the *east*. Directly above it, the celebrant sits, with reverently-bowed head and clasped hands, and while he utters incantations to the spirit of the dead, the earth is slowly thrown in by the silent tearful party of ten. Hands alone are used throughout the tedious function, and when the grave is completely filled in, the party turns round, and facing it, finishes by packing the earth over it in a compact mound. Three stones are then placed over the grave, one at each end and the third in the middle. An *Eeta* reed, about 6 feet long, is now stuck firmly over the grave; the party once more arrange themselves on both sides of it and successively placing their upturned hands one above the other in such a manner that the reed passes between each one's fingers, sway up and down four times. The reed is then taken up by the celebrant and thrust into the mound over the grave obliquely from end to end. A handful of paddy is, thereafter, scattered over the grave. A frond of the Rattam palm, with leaves (*pinnæ*) and spines on, is then laid across the head of the grave and the silent party, after slowly walking round the grave four times step over it and, without once looking back, return to the hut of the deceased. On the way, however, and when well out of sight of the grave, they enter a stream, bathe, and collect seven leaves of the wild arrow-root plant. These are taken and carefully placed in the eaves of the hut in which the person died. On arriving at the hut, the members of the deceased's family who will have bathed and swept out the hut and premises, sprinkle the funeral party with cow-dung water. The celebrant then entering the hut of the deceased, procures a new mat which he spreads in it. Over the middle of this mat, the piece of cloth that formed part of the torn shroud is neatly folded and laid lengthwise. A cocoanut shell containing cold water is placed over the cloth at one end of it. The celebrant then sits beside the mat and, dipping the knuckles of the little finger of his left hand into the water, touches the cloth with it. After this he touches the shell

with the fingers of the one hand and the end of the cloth with those of the other and gently approximates both palms until they meet before his chest in an attitude of devout and reverential adoration. This is repeated three times. Early the next morning the funeral party of ten, accompanied by the celebrant, go to the nearest stream, cook a handful of rice and, after bathing, stand side by side in a line, facing east. Each one then crosses his hands with the palms downwards in such a manner that the right hand is uppermost. On the back of the latter, a little of the hot froth from the boiling rice, with a grain of salt, is placed by the celebrant. Each of the party then raises his still crossed hands to his lips and, licking up the salt, spits it out before him. The cooked rice itself is taken and placed over a leaf near the water in the stream, and the party returns to the hut. Late in the evening of the same day boiled rice is served on one of the seven arrow-root leaves placed over the mat in the hut of the deceased, and, after the bereaved family mourn over it, a little child, boy or girl, is asked to eat it. The child readily obeys, and for the succeeding six evenings, the ceremony is repeated. On the eighth day, a feast is given, the shell and water are thrown away, and the strip of cloth, torn into shreds, is twisted into a cord and worn by the child around its neck for one year. This strange practice is all the more interesting when it is remembered that the child, like the celebrant elder, is frequently no relative or connection of the deceased. The mat on which the ceremony is performed may be used by any member of the family, but it is usually given to the child. On the anniversary of death, the male and female members of the deceased's family, shave a narrow ring of hair right round their heads, and bathe. The celebrant is presented with grain and provisions to the value of a rupee, a feast is given to the assembled tribesmen, and the mourning is considered at an end.

A. M. SAWYER.

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OUR NATIONAL GAMES.

I.

IT is not the serious side of man's nature alone that deserves our careful study. His games, his pastimes, his diversions, in short, the light half of his mental constitution equally call for minute research. Paradoxical though it sounds, it is the latter which weighs heavier in the balance. For, there the spirit, bereft of artificial conventionalities, runs riot in her perennial atmosphere and shews herself in her true colours. It is in those happy moments of relaxation that the inmost virtues of man come out of the shell. We see him there as Nature made him. Nay more; relaxation is the constructive agency in man. What of energy and tissue he loses in work, he regains in rest. Even so, relaxation repairs his weakened spirits and makes him the fitter to face the future struggle. The playground is really the nursery of human character; it is the field where the world's battles are fought and peace secured: it is the furnace where are forged those manly virtues which play the most important part in the battle of life.

What is true of the individual is true of the nation. Witness the influence of the Olympic games in the formation of the noble character of the Hellenes and in the unification of the Doric race. How they formed the pivot round which the arts, the sciences, and the literature of the Greeks turned, how their decay is bound up inseparably with that of national independence, how in their passage to the Roman amphitheatre they degenerated into gladiatorial fights and created a state of society which posterity looks down upon with horror and disgust, history teaches us. If the *Puranas* depict any state of society which once existed in Hindustan, it is difficult to gainsay that similar influences were at work in ancient India too. The *Rajasuyams* and other great *Satrams* (Festivals) held in royal courts and priestly families served as the occasion for the congregation of what is best in learning, arts and physical feats. During the age of Indian chivalry, *Swayamvarams* (marriage festivals) afforded an ample field for the exhibition of prowess and military feats. Coming down to our own times, the *Dasara* is an annual gathering of the *elite*, when the learned and the athlete exhibit their wares. The *Murajapam* or the septennial ceremony celebrated at Trivandram in Travencore, affords a similar opportunity. Gradual degeneration is the keynote of the history of national

games in India now, as it was in Greece and Rome of yore, and the consequent disintegration of society is no less apparent.

Nevertheless, it is but fitting that we should recognise in what relics are left of the ancient glory of our national games the true basis upon which the national charecter is built up. Notwithstanding their loss of significance in our social economy, they afford us an ample field for research, in so far as they supply the true clue for the differentiation of the status of one nation from that of another.

A few general observations I have to make *in limine* to guard against misconceptions which may otherwise result. In the first place, what is the significance of the word "Games"? It has a restricted as well as an extended meaning. In the former acceptation, it means sports or exercises for recreation or amusement. In the wider sense, it signifies anything which diverts the mind from the practical and matter-of-fact concerns of life and creates immediate pleasure by the performance or exhibition of bodily or mental skill. I attach this entended connotation to the word. By the term 'national games' I understand such games as are characteristic of, or have their origin in, a particular community; and by the phrase 'Our national games' Malabar games.

Secondly, I would ask the indulgence of the reader to note the difficulty of drawing a clear line between the serious and light phases of several observances. I mean, there are festivals in Malabar which partake of the nature of serious religious observances, but at the same time have the characteristics of games. Festivals, such as the car festivals, *Utsavams* in temples and the *Dasara* carnivals, such as the *Kalli Uttu* sacrifices, incantations, the water carnival *Bharani* and *Puram* carnivals, *Sastaprieti*, all demarcate this borderland. It will be declared heresy in me by the orthodox to regard the above in any light other than religious. But, in spite of the reverence in which I hold them, I cannot shut my eyes to the recreative element predominant in each. Looking into the history of games, it will be observed that they had their origin in religious observances, or were connected in some way with the worship of God. The Grecian games formed part of religious observances, and were held near a shrine or other consecrated spot. Not unusually they were "connected by some myth or legend, with some hero, demigod or local deity." The *Ludi Publici* of the

Romans wore a similarly religious aspect. The Hindus, if anything, are a religious nation *par excellence*. No institution of theirs exists, but is in a manner dubbed with the ecclesiastical sword. No wonder then that in course of time secular and religious elements imperceptibly blended together into an undefined whole, wherein gradually the former sank into insignificance by the side of the latter which has the stronger hold.

A description of a few of the festivals enumerated above will make this clear. The car festival is an exotic in Malabar; it has a Buddhistic origin and is an importation from the other coast. The most celebrated is what is held at Suchindram in South Travancore. The real ceremony consists in the procession of the divine idol through the four principal streets round the temple on a decorated car, which is certainly a finished work of art, drawn by human hands. Similarly, the *Utsavam* in temples consists of the grand procession of the *Simulacra* of the deity carried aloft on richly caparisoned elephants or on human shoulders for eight or ten days and rarely, even a month. On the day preceding that which closes the festival, the deity is taken out for the Holy or *Palli Vetta* to a distance from the temple, where a forest scene is got up for the occasion with wild leaves and flowers. A banyan tree often indicates the spot and more often represents the forest. On return in procession which is a grand affair evidently indicating the grand entry of a victorious general, the God sleeps outside the altar and enters it only the next day after the purificatory bath or *arat*. The return after *arat*, and in some places such as Trivandram the progress to the bathing ghat is a splendid sight to see.

The cardinal idea in these is, no doubt, the propitiation of the Supreme Being by paying human honors in commemoration probably of the origin of the shrine or the will of the person who instituted the festival. It is worthy of note that *Utsavams* are held only in places where *Yagams* cannot be performed. There are few *Utsavams* in north Malabar. Hence there is an idea that the one is a substitute for the other. But they are made the occasion for the gathering not only of the worshippers who muster strong during the holy week, but also of the young athlete with his rings and strings, the amateur dancer with his quaint headgear and uncouth dress, the country wit with his sharp tongue for the men and events of the day, the juggler with his cups and balls and his

sleight-of-hand, the native piper with his golden flute, piping away to the tune and temper of the audience, the native drummer with dexterous hands and bended back and strong in numbers drumming away with deafening chorus to the extreme delectation of the country folk, and last, not least, the thrifty merchant with his showy wares spread to their best advantage.

The *Dasara*, again, is a ten days' festival in honor of Saraswati, the goddess of letters. This festival is not confined to Malabar, but is observed throughout India. It is the occasion in royal courts (this is annually held at Trivandram) when *Pundits* and musicians assemble for a peaceful warfare in the several branches of science, literature and arts. In former times, it also served as the fit occasion for an annual competition in physical games and the use of weapons. With the decline of the age of chivalry, however, this item appears to have gone out of fashion.

As on the Lord Mayor's Day in London, annual shows are held in many a shrine, which go by the name of *Kettukazcha*, when gigantic cars, chariots, horses, elephants, swans are made of cloth and sticks and exhibited. Though meant primarily as propitiatory festivals their recreative element is no less apparent. The Kalí festival, similarly affords amusement for over a week. Performed in propitiation of the war-goddess *Kali* as the name signifies, it is a re-enactment, with horrible pantomimes, of war songs and mock fights, of the mythological battle between the goddess *Kali* and *Darukan*, a Satanic devil. The feastings, the pole-mountings and the mock fights all afford a great deal of recreation. The *Sasta* festival in honor of the god of the woods, the *Pûram* festival in honor of the goddess *Durga* and a score of others, which I do not stop here to describe, tell the same tale. The main point that I would like to impress upon my readers is, that the evolution of our games, no less than their practice, is so closely bound up with, I would even say, predominated by, the inborn religious sentiment of the nation, that it is found impossible in several cases to determine clearly where the religious element stops and the secular element begins, or whether some festivals are to be classed under the head of games or religious observances.

The third observation that I would like to make is the influence of caste on our games. The spirit of exclusiveness which the system of caste has engendered in Hindu society has permeated the

the sphere of sports also. However invaluable may be the principle of the division of labour in the conservation of social economy, and however much such distribution of occupation and trades has conduced to their greater perfection, it cannot be ignored that the institution of caste and its sentimentalism have isolated our national games and reduced us to the level of spectators rather than actors therein. While among other nations the separation of a profession has tended towards its greater perfection, among Hindus generally and especially amongst Malayalis, it has created the very opposite result of deterioration and consequent obloquy. Do we not attach a certain amount of opprobrium to those who take to certain games as their profession? What is the social status of a professional pantomimic player or a dancing girl? Dancing among European nations is one of the most refined forms of social recreation and is studied as an art by the lowest as well as the highest; and so is acting. They are considered as accomplishments by men and women alike. Amongst us on the contrary, the *Mohini* or *Dasi* is a creature te be shunned and the actor a loathsome being, and their performance fit only to be seen and enjoyed at a distance. And why? A Brahmin is interdicted if he trains himself up in feats with arms or athletic exercises. Nairs alone can exercise *Vêlakali* or sham fights. Why? We have to seek the solution for all these enigmas in the disintegration of society by caste and the resultant deterioration. Many games have lost their interest by this spirit of exclusiveness, and the epithet national attached to them has to be understood in the sense of indigenous.

Having premised these general observations, I shall next turn to the games themselves. Before dealing with them individually, it appears to me desirable to attempt at some classifiation of them. The game is certainly worth the candle. Besides bringing into prominence the general characteristics of several games apparently dissimilar, it will help the reader to follow the subject more intelligently and with greater ease.

But then here lies the difficulty. To get at a principle of classification satisfying the strict logical rules were indeed an impossibility. The nature of these games, their origin and their history do not afford any single principle of division. In the absence of anything better, I offer the following:—

- Games.
  - Physical
    - Masculine
      - Military.
      - Civil.
    - Feminine
    - Infantine
  - Intellectual
    - Masculine
    - Feminine
    - Infantine
  - Æsthetic
    - Masculine
    - Feminine
    - Infantine

I classify games first, into physical, intellectual and æsthetic In doing so, I am guided by their prominent feature and immediate effect. There are two standpoints from which we can view games; first, that of a participator, and second, that of a spectator. All physical games primarily exercise the bodily organs of the actor, while they affect the emotions of the spectators. It cannot, however, be denied that the actor does not feel a sense of pleasure from the accurate and harmonious movements and positions of his body. That such exercises are often performed to the accompaniment of music or other time measure clearly indicate the intellectual and æsthetic elements present in the actor. Similarly, what is an intellectual game to the player may have an æsthetic effect on the spectator and *vice versa*. In æsthetic games are involved the elements of the two former classes. It needs no admission from me that games, such as *Raman Attam, Ottam Tullal,* partake of the nature of every one of these classes. But in this classification of games I have looked at their prominent effect on the actor or participator. Each of these classes I have subdivided into masculine, feminine and infantine, taking into account the class of players who generally participate in them. Here, again, I must guard against the misconception that these subdivisions are exclusive. Masculine physical games appear to me capable of treatment under two heads, military and civil. I shall in the sequel treat of games under each of these heads.

M. RAJARAJA VARMA RAJA.

(To be continued.)

SOME GLIMPSES OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.*

TO the student of History living in South India it is tantalising to find how destitute we are of records collected by the people themselves. Even South Indian students, occasionally waking up to the fact that the history of their land may have an interest, fall back almost entirely on the works of Western scholars, thus assisting these latter little or not at all. And yet it is Indians, Indians only, who can bring vernacular scholarship to bear on such records as may exist. "Hopelessly impenetrable darkness" Mr. Sundram Pillay called early South Indian history, and if that learned scholar, trained in South Indian languages, that able intellect dowered with the humility, the searching patience, the humour, the courage, that Clio exacts of her votaries, if he found himself in darkness, where shall the outsider, the barbarian appear who has hardly trodden stumbling by his first steps up the Indian Parnassus? "We have not" says Mr. Sundram Pillay, in the "Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature" a single important date in the ancient history of the Dravidians ascertained and placed beyond the reach of controversy. Individual opinions drift at pleasure from the fourteenth century B. C. to the eighteenth century A. D." The British Period is only 300 years old, the Portuguese but a century behind that, and even Mohammedan history only touches the fringes of S. India by the end of the thirteenth century. And behind "impenetrable darkness," you have a great literature in a classical language which has had its cycle of development and bloom and decay. Here three great religions have had time to grow up and supplant one another, not to mention Christianity which has a continuous if fragmentary history of its own in these regions. Here have flourished a remarkable architecture and very interesting arts. Of your commerce the West can speak with the authority of contact. For we are met by the products of Indian export trade on the threshold of European and Semitic History. We may go, if it pleases us, into the deep backward and absym of time and build Noah's ark of teak-wood or find Indian bdellium spire and onyx stones in the garden of Eden—or

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if that seems too little of the earth, we can view the Indian elephant and the Indian jungle fowl on Egyptian monuments of the sixteenth century B. C. and find indigo, cotton, tamarind and carbuncle in the Egyptian markets. We can hear Homer sing of triple earrings made of mulberry-coloured Indian garnets and of ivory and pearls by their Sanskrit names. We can see Aaron burning Indian spices in the tabernacle of the wilderness, and Samson wagering thirty strips of Indian muslin with the guesser of his lion-honey riddle, and Solomon garnishing his temple at Jerusalem with Indian gold, and making himself a throne of Indian ivory, and importing Indian spikenard and cassia and saffron and henna and the rest, for the luxury of his palace, to say nothing of apes and peacocks, known by their Indian names. And when Ezekiel the Prophet sang the doom of Tyre, under the poetical figure of a rich merchant ship, wrecked in the midst of the seas, horns of ivory, and ebony, blend among its merchandise with oaks of Bashan, and fine linen of Egypt, and silver of Spain.

Tyre! It is time to speak of Tyre, for the link between East and West was that* nation of traders, the Phœnicians, standing, with that other Semitic race the Arabians, on the bridge as it were between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The commerce of all the seas passed through Sidon and Tyre. They had the start in the civilisation of the world. They gathered from the Babylonians a knowledge of letters and numbers and weights and measures, and also the observation of the stars which they used for navigation, passing on their knowledge to the Greeks, who were not slow to better the instruction. Their tiny daring ships moving before the wind in fair weather, propelled by oars in calm or storm, crept from point to point, till they reached the Pacific on the one hand, the edge of the Atlantic abysses on the other. A significant flash is the name they taught the Greeks for our Scilly Islands, whence they brought the best tin, *Cassiterides*. They gave the most westerly point of their trading an Indian name. And so on, as the great world spins down the ringing grooves of change, we see the Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, sea-farers in their turn. I believe our own Maha Rajah has locked away in some forgotten chest, thirty coins of Roman Emperors from Augustus onwards. A Greek merchant of Berenice in Egypt gives us an admirable picture of the

* Recent research seems to be finding a Turanian origin for the Phœnicians.

Romano-Greek trade to which these coins belong. His book written about A. D. 90 is called the *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea. It gives the exports of every seaport, from Berenice round the Indian ocean, right down to Ceylon, and it is interesting to find that even then there was a Cape Comorin. He says:—"Those who wish to consecrate the close of their lives to religion come here and bathe and vow celibacy. This is also done by women because the goddess Kumari lived here and bathed." "Then Kolkhoi where the pearl fishing is carried on; King Pandian is the owner of the fishery.

And after the Romano-Greeks, the Byzantines, the Saracens, the Genoese and Venitians each in turn enriched themselves by the Indian trade, and we have the delightful and fantastic tales of Marco Polo and an occasional word from a merchant or a missionary till in the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks blocked the direct routes of commerce by caravan and the Persian Gulf and by the Red Sea. And then the Portuguese of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, rendered venturous with the discovery of the mariner's compass, trusting the trade winds, sailed their oarless ships down the interminable west African coast, and round the Cape into Indian waters again. It is with the establishment of the Portuguese at Goa that we first get a clear, true, vivid picture of South India on the other side of the great range of the Western Ghauts seen from within, instead of dimly, as sailors see the distant mountains from the seacoast. True, by this time we are in the sixteenth century A. D; still it is much in reconstructive history to have the social, constitutional and political conditions of a country, clear and definite at some one period, however late, as a point from which to work backward. The appearance of a book like Mr. Sewell's "Forgotten Empire" is as welcome as bread in a famine.

On the Tungabadra river, a tributary of the Krishna, in the Nizam's dominions near the little village of Hampe, there may still be seen the ruins of temples and palaces and fortifications. When Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, these ruins were a mighty and populous city, the seat of an Empire of South India. The Portuguese greatness began in their trade with it, and fell with its fall.

In 1503 Alphonso d'Albuquerque was at Quilon, and for local reasons, we are tempted to linger a moment with him there. The

Portuguese had helped the Hindu king of Cochin, against the Mohammedan Zamorin of Calicut, and been permitted to build a factory at Cochin. D'Albuquerque went to Quilon "to take in a cargo of spices." He found that the king had gone into the interior of the country, to war with the king of Narsinga, that is to say with king Narasimha of Vijianagar, his suzerain, for the name Narasinga, given by the Portuguese to this country, seems to have been a blunder over the name of the king reigning there on their arrival. By orders of the Quilon king, the Portuguese were well treated, for the sake of their trade, and the Namburi, who was the governor, rejected an embassy from the Zamorin of Calicut in their disfavour. A lively trade sprang up. From 1505 to 1509 Almeida was viceroy for the king of Portugal, on the Indian coast, and he learned from an influential native the importance of the kingdom of Vijianagar at the back of the great sierra, whose kings had supremacy over the kings of Malabar. And when D'Albuquerque became Viceroy in 1509 he began dealing with Vijianagar direct. That same year 1509 a new king Krishna Deva Raya succeeded king Narasimha, and it may serve to keep our ideas clear if we remember that 1509 was also the year of the accession of Henry VIII of England. Krishna Deva Raya reigned till 1530, and it is from certain narratives, written by Europeans at his court, that we know so much of Vijianagar. The first is a "*Description of the East Indies and the countries of the sea-board of the Indian Ocean in 1514*" by Duarte Barbosa, a cousin of Magellan, of the Magellan Straits. It was published in Spanish, translated from the Portuguese in 1524, and the oldest known copy is in the Barcelona Library. He describes the large trade of Bhatkal whose governor "calls himself king but is in obedience to the king of Vijianagar his uncle." He speaks of its exports of iron and spices and drugs, and its imports of horses and pearls; only the pearls then mostly went to Goa, for the Portuguese had seized Goa with great slaughter in 1510, and it was the seat of their government in India, when Barbosa visited Vijianagar. He describes that populous city, its handsome palaces with numerous courts, its thatched houses, its wide streets and squares, its strong wall, its infinite trade in jewels from Pegu and Ceylon, diamonds from its own country and from the Dekkan, pearls from Ormuz, silk and brocades, scarlet and coral, the countless women servants of the palace, the great hall of council (which may still be seen among the ruins though it is wrongly called the zenana)

the king's 900 elephants and 20,000 horses, his great army both cavalry and foot. He remarks as all Europeans did on the horrid practice of suttee, four or five hundred women perishing when the king died.

Two other documents were only translated and published in English in Mr. Sewell's book in 1900, though they were known to Portuguese historians. In fact, the earliest known manuscripts of them are copies believed to have been furnished to the historian Barros, who made use of them in his work. These are now in the National Library at Paris, and are bound up with two letters written from China about 1520, which letters Barros also used. Our documents are dated 1520 and 1536 respectively, the second being placed first in the book, probably because, being a chronicle, it begins from an earlier period of history. The document of 1520 is by one Domingo Paes, who visited Vijianagar about that date. He describes how, after leaving the coast, on which that kingdom has many seaports, he traversed by passes, a rocky, forest clad sierra and reached a plain country, the South Deccan, of which he gives a picture which appears more prosperous than as we know it. But perhaps not, because our European agriculture has so vastly improved since the sixteenth century, that we now see with more critical eyes than those of a Portuguese of that period. He describes the scarcity of water too, and the tanks they make to collect it and resents, as a modern Englishman might do, their muddy state, on account of the dust and the number of animals that frequent them. He remarks how oxen are used as beasts of burden only, not for food, being sacred, and how asses are used by the washermen for the clothes going to wash—a sight to be seen to this day, on the other side of our mountains.

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The city of "Bisnaga" itself is described as very strong, guarded by a range of hills, all passages being closed except those leading to the city gates. The hills "are of white stone piled one block over another, most singular, so that it seems as if it stood in the air." It was full of beautiful buildings, with flat roofs. An aquaduct brought water to a large tank, which was being made when Paes came, and "fifteen or twenty thousand men looking like ants" were at work upon it, under overseers. A horrible sacrifice of men and horses and buffaloes, made because the tank burst three or four times, gives us a queer glimpse of the Vijianagar Department of Public Works.

He describes the Brahmins, priests and literary men, officials, merchants and landowners and ascetics, of fair complexion and their women beautiful, and very retiring, seldom leaving the house.

The king was "gallant and perfect in all things," interested, in foreigners and receiving them kindly. He had three principal wives, daughters of the king of Orissa and of his vassal of Seringapatam, and many others. Each had her own house, and many maidens, and enormous treasure in jewels of all sorts. All the servants were women, and "you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield." "No one enters where the king is unless he has bare feet" "They do not speak to one another nor chew betel before the king."

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A wide street connected the two cities, with rows of houses and shops and pagodas. There was a great open square in front of the king's palace, and two temples, at the gate of which, all animals were butchered, the head and a *chuckram* for each being given in sacrifice. "Going forward you have a broad and beautiful street, with "every sort of thing there is on earth that you may wish to buy." "There is a Moorish (Mohammedan) quarter, for the king has Moors in his guard." Seen from the hills above, the city seemed to Paes as large as Rome, and so thick with fruit-trees that some parts appeared like a forest, an effect such as one gets when viewing Trevandrum from the tower of Pachipara gaol. An immense population, yet the best provided city in the world; large store of grain and very cheap, "no one eats wheat except the Moors," a fact which remains a difficulty in importing grain in times of famine. Three fowls go for a coin worth an anna, and there are meat and vegetables, butter and oil and milk, all "in such quantity as to stupefy one."

Of the beautiful temple of Vitthala Swami, and the royal Hampe temple, dedicated to Virupaksha, the ruins may still be seen. "All the outer side of the gate of the temple up to the roof is covered with copper and gilded. The shrine is vaulted without any light from the sky and it is lit with candles." "At the first gate are door-keepers, who never allow any one to enter, except the Brahmins that have charge of it. And I, because I gave something to them, was allowed to enter. The principal idol was a round shapeless stone."

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The army includes at least a million fighting troops. The royal revenue, received from the lords who rule the towns and villages, is enormous. From each are due annual payments and service with troops. There is a gold currency. The coins, current all over India, bore the names of the king who had them struck.

The Portuguese were shown the palace except the women's quarters. For barbaric pearl and gold the account is surpassing. Even the cots were suspended by chains of gold and set with gems. The pillars of the hall, where the women were taught to dance, was "covered with carved images, gradually diminishing in size, and becoming lost, till there remained of all the sculptured work, only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between the images and pillars runs a design of foliage, all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue."

These buildings have been destroyed, but a systematic excavation of the ruins would no doubt recover much and contribute to the history of South India as much as one of Schliemann's excavations of the Aegean sites has done for that of Greece.

The other document in our work, the Chronicle of Fernaô Nunez is an extremely spirited narrative of the kings of Vijianagar, from the destruction of Anegundi, by Mohammud Tughlak of Delhi, and the building of Vijianagar, down to the death of Deva Krishna Raya, in 1530; with an account of the institutions and customs of Vijianagar under Achyuta, his successor, who reigned when the Chronicle was written *i. e.*, about 1536.

From his account, with that of Paes, and from the accounts of an Italian Micolo de Conti, and a Persian Abdur Razzak, who visited Vijianagar in the fifteenth century, and from the Mohammedan historians Ibu Batuta and Ferishtah, who wrote about 1342 and 1600 respectively, and from South Indian inscriptions, and from the ruins of the city itself, a coherent story can be gathered.

About 1330 A. D. there existed, to the north of the Tungabadra, an ancient principality, with a strong citadel, called Anegundi, in the lofty granite hills, below which the river ran deep at all seasons, a rapid torrent in the monsoon.

In 1336 this place was captured by Mohammed Tughlak, after a heroic defence, the king and his nobles fighting to the death, after first seeing out of the world, their women folk and those of their sons who were too young to fight.

Finding it impossible, however, to govern the place by a deputy, Mohamed Tughlak raised the late king's minister Harihara Deva I to be chief. He, advised it is said by the sage Madhava, transferred his capital to the south side of the stream and built Vijianagar. He, and his brother Bukka, and then Bukka's son, Harihara II, reigned in turn. Civil war among the Mohammedans helped them. The Dekkan revolted in 1347 from that evil Fool Mohammed Tughlak, and the independent kingdom of the Bahmanis arose. To the south of the Krishna, our tiny principality grew into a great kingdom, a barrier that checked the flood of Moslem invasion, and preserved from destruction, the civilisation of South India and the Hindu religion. We have a parallel in English history, in the story of Wessex and the Danes, and in France, in that of Paris and the Normans. And exactly as Wessex became England and the county of Paris grew into France, because they alone had offered resistance to invaders of an antagonistic religion, and given protection to their native institutions, literature, language and customs, so this little state grew into a great empire offering a solid wall of opposition, and South India was saved for 250 years. The old Southern States drew together under its suzerainty. Already, in 1378 Ferishtah tells us its king was "in power and extent of territory greatly the superior of the Bahmani kings." By 1443 Abdur Razzak says he "holds a powerful and mighty dominion, with three hundred ports, each equal to Calicut, and his territories comprise a space of three months' journey." By 1509 he was suzerain down to Cape Comorin, perhaps even of Ceylon.* This traveller throws in a touch which we cannot omit. "Roses are sold everywhere. The people could not live without roses, and they look upon them as quite as necessary as food."

The two kings before Krishna Deva Raya, who bore the name of Narasimha, seem to have been usurpers, but during their rule the kingdom prospered. With the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, Nunez becomes very full aud glowing like Paes, and he is no doubt fairly accurate, having had opportunity of knowing his facts. For his story of the conquests of Krishna Deva Raya I must refer you to Sewell. A mere enumeration is uninteresting, and it would make my lecture too long if I went into details. The battle of Raichur must however be mentioned. It was fought with the Adil Shah on

* Mr. S. Parameswara Iyer's researches seem to show that Travancore was annexed only in the time of Achyuta Raya.

new moon day, in May 1520. Nunez describes, as if he had been there himself, the colossal army of horse and foot and elephants, led by the king's various chiefs, among them "the page of the betel," from whom as from our old English king's Butler, Chamberlain or Marshall a great vassal house descended. "All were well armed after his own fashion, the archers and musqueteers with their quilted tunics, the shieldmen with their swords and poignards in their girdles, the horses in full panoply, the war elephants with their howdahs, eight men in each, knives fastened on the tusks, with which they do much harm. Several cannon also." "I do not speak here" says he "of the washermen who are numberless here, they wash clothes, nor of the women who accompanied the army; there were 20000 of them with the king; any one can imagine the amount of baggage. Ten or twelve thousand men, with water skins, go seeking water, and give water to those, who have no one to give it them." The camp was in regular streets, with food and clothes and jewels and every thing for sale, as in "Bisnaga itself." It is a mystery how it could be done. "Any one can imagine what grass and straw would be required, each day, for 32,400 horses and 551 elephants, besides sumpter mules and asses and oxen.

In the battle that ensued, the Hindu king was victorious and Raichur fell. Its capture is attributed to the Porguguese party and their superior use of fire-arms. If it was so, it would explain their honorable reception and the rich presents, which Paes describes. Krishna Deva Raya then invaded the Dekkan, and destroyed Kulbarga, the Bahmani capital. The excesses committed by the Hindus, and the asperity with which Krishna Deva Raya treated the conquered, are regarded by Mr. Sewell as a chief cause of the ultimate downfall of the kingdom of Vijianagar. However, the amazing luxury of the court, while, as we are told, the peasant paid nine-tenths of the produce of the soil to their lords, would be sufficient to account for the fall of so top-heavy a plutocracy. Krishna Deva Raya had his son crowned in his life-time, but the child being poisoned, he blinded his chief minister Saluva Timna, the man by whom he had obtained the throne. Himself, seriously ill, he was on his way to recover Belgaum from the Adil Shah when he died at the age of 42.

His successor, Achyuta Raja, had had a bad training for a king, having lived mostly in prison, and he flung himself into a life of luxury, careless of the business of government, stupid and craven.

The Adil Shah at once recovered Raichur and Mudkul; in fact, he raided Nagallapur within a league of Vijianagar.

The last part of the Chronicle of Nunez enables us to gather some idea of the administrative system. The constitutional unit here as in feudal England is the village. The king is sole landowner, sole ruler, fountain of justice, head of the military system. The nobles hold (a feudal term) the towns and villages, of the king. They are bound to maintain horse, foot and elephants and to pay dues every year, a fixed sum, the *Ferm* of their province, to use a word from European feudalism. A point to notice is, that their forces and the special forces of the king are paid, so that Vijianagar was getting past the stage of tenure by knight service, which, of course, was the case in England also, as soon as her territory required wide and continuous defence. "All the land belongs to the king and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord. The common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the land being so tyrannical. The captains must always attend the court and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations," are bound to *suit and service* in fact, "and if the king finds they have a less number, they are severely punished and their estates confiscated," the feudal *forfeiture*. Nunez gives a list, unfortunately very incomplete of the principal fiefs.

The administrative system is worked by the king and his secretaries, the ministers of the kingdom, the scribes of the kings own lands, the chief treasurer, the commander of the palace guards, the treasurer of the jewels, the chief master of the horse. There seems to have been some sort of itinerant system, for we are told these officers go about the kingdom, but from their names probably for revenue purposes only. The nobles seem to have been responsible for justice in their own districts, with personal appeal to the king. And there is mention of a bailiff of the city. The methods seem primitive, the captain of a province may be seized and his property confiscated, if he fail to catch a thief, and there are powerful wizards. who detect thieves so that there are very few in the land. When caught, the thief loses a hand, or foot, and other bad crimes, such as treason and murder, except in duel, are punished with beheading, impaling and fanciful punishments decreed by the

king. Full chronological records and fiscal accounts were kept, we are told, which if recovered would be invaluable for the constitutional history of South India.

Sadasiva nephew of Achyuta began to reign in 1541 or 1542, but though numerous inscriptions show him to have been the recognised sovereign, he was kept secluded and all power lay with his minister Ram Raja, who was known as king. In his time and in spite of his vigour and ability came the fall of Vijianagar. Its ruin comes with astonishing suddenness in the midst of apparent prosperity, but was prepared by the intolerable luxury of the court, the want of solidity in the lower ranges of the administrative system, and a very imperfect military organisation.

In 1660 king Ram Raja interfering like Krishna Deva Raja in the affairs of the Islam Sultans of the Deccan, four of the five states combined in 1565 to attack Vijianagar. The ambassador of the Adil Shah to Huzzain Nizam Shah "represented to him that during the times of the Bhamani princes, when the whole strength of the Mussulman power was in one hand the balance between it and the force of the roies of Vijianagar were nearly equal; that now the Mussalman anthority was divided, policy demanded that all the faithful Princes should unite in one, that they might continue secure from the attacks of their powerful common enemy, and the authority of the roies of Vijianagar, who had reduced all the Rajas of the Carnatic to their yoke be diminished and removed far from the countries of Islam, that they might repose free from the oppressions of the unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places be made no longer the dwellings of the infidels."

They marched south on Christmas Day A. D. 1564 crossing the Deccan plains when the young crops were springing after the monsoon, in bright days and cool breezes. At the small town of Talikota they halted and collected their transport and commissariat. At Vijianagar there was no thought of danger; they planted and builded, married and were given in marriage; above all, they bought and sold. The great merchant city went its daily round secure and heedless, confident in long steadfast prosperity. One impossible story makes Ram Raja ignorant of the approach of the enemy. We may rather believe with Ferishta that "he treated their ambassador with scornful language and regarded their enmity as of little moment." An experienced old statesman he did not neglect

precautions. The passage of the Krishna was blocked at all points, and he gathered the whole power of the Vijianagar Empire. It was the usual enormous army Canarese and Telegu, Mysorians and Malabarese, Nairs too perhaps, though the time hardly allowed the summons of troops from so far south. The elite of the army, gorgeously dressed and armed, the rank and file mostly naked, or clad in rough tunics and short drawers of cotton, bearing spears and daggers. The Moslems crosssed the river by strategem and the fight took place on the south side of the Krishna. It was Tuesday, January 23rd, 1565.

Ram Rajah, who was ninety-six, but brave as a man of thirty, would direct the battle himself from his litter, since riding was too much for him. This lost the day, for the Hindus seem to have been altogether dependent on him to lead them. The litter was captured by a band of Moslem cavalry, and Ram Raya beheaded. The Hindus, who had been victorious on both wings, when they saw his head raised on a spear, fled at once. Not a single captain would seem to have kept his senses. The rout was so complete that not even the approaches to the city were defended. The inhabitants awoke to their danger only with the entrance of the flying. The craven princes snatching a few treasures, the royal insignia, the jewelled throne, huddled them on elephants, and with Tirumalla brother of Ram Raja at their head, bore off king Sadasiva southwards to the fortress of Penukuda. Tirumalla ultimately murdered Sadasiva, and the third dynasty of Vijianagar, if such it could he called, was founded by him.

The city was left defenceless, the people could not even fly, for the sarman carts and oxen were off to the war. They buried their treasures and cowered waiting. Even before the Moslems came, jungle people and robbers (whose presence indicates the ineffectiveness of the local government) swarmed in to loot the great bazaar. With the 3rd day came the Moslem army, slaughter and destruction. They burst intot he palaces hacking down images and sculptures, they lit fires in the pagodas, they massacred, pillaged and burned through the streets—a sack to be thought of beside the sacks of Tyre and Persepolis, of Carthage and Corinth and Jerusalem, among the tragedies of the world. The busy trading city with industries of weaving and building and sculpture, the city fair and rich, whose people could not live without roses, whose merchandise was of gold

and precious stones and pearls, of horses and slaves, whose merchants were the princes of the earth, suffered in absolute literalness the fate of the mighty city of the Apocalypse.

Two years later an Italian traveller Cæsare Federci saw the place. "The city of Vijianagar" he says "is not altogether destroyed, the houses stand still, but empty and there is in them nothing but tigers and wild beasts." "The traffic" laments another traveller Sarsetti, a year or two later, 1578, "the traffic was so large that it was impossible to imagine it, the place was so immensely large, and it was inhabited by people rich, not with richness like ours, but with richness like that of the Crassi and the others, in old days. And such merchandise, diamonds, rubies and pearls, and besides all that, the horse trade. That alone produced a revenue in Goa of a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats which now reaches only six thousand." Thus did the merchants who were made rich by her, and the mariners who gained their living by sea, stand afar off, weeping and mourning her, and saying: Woe! woe! the mighty city, for in one hour she is made desolate.

The kingdom, however, subsisted in a fashion, as the principality of Anegundi, till it was annexed in 1786 by Tippu Sultan. The chief vassals or *nayaks* seized independence, each in his own district. It was a descendant of the blood royal of Vijianagar who in 1639 granted the site of Madras to the English.

S. B. WILLIAMS.

THE ANTIQUITY OF NANJINAD & SHENKOTTAH: THE TWO TAMIL DISTRICTS OF TRAVANCORE.

THE ancient history of Travancore has yet to be written, and it is a sign of the times that, with the spread of Western education, the fabulous marvels that have been described in such works as the *Keralolpathy* and *Kerala Mahathmyam* are vanishing like the mist before the morning sun. It is to be hoped that the most orthodox of Hindus would, ere long, be in a position to discern historical facts from myths, which are mainly the products of imagination built upon slender materials. It is real patriotism to accept truth wherever it may be found, and a careful examination of the Tamil classics will certainly throw a flood of light upon a part of the history of the kingdom.

The kingdom of Travancore was carved out of the Chera monarchy at the time of its dismemberment about the ninth century of the Christian era; in its present consolidated form it constitutes a good slice of the parent kingdom; these are facts which will not now be disputed.

Nanjinad is the southernmost end of the State of Travancore, and it is graced by the world-famous Cape Comorin which attracted the notice of such writers of antiquity as the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Pliny, and Ptolomy. It at present consists of the taluks of Agastiswaram and Thovala, and has an area of about 210 square miles with a population of about 130,000 souls. It is the granary of south Travancore; and the leading ryots south of the capital own considerable areas of paddy lands. The taluk of Shenkottah—the other Tamil appendage to the kingdom,—contains an area of about 100 square miles and a population of 40,000.

According to ancient Tamil authors, *Tamilagam* or Tamil land which was ruled over by the three Tamil kings, Chera, Chola and Pandya consisted of 13 *nadus* or provinces. Of these, Poolie, Kudam, Kuddam and Ven bordering on the Arabian Sea together with Karkanad, lying west of Kudam and Kuddam, formed the dominion of Chera. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has proved that Travancore is composed of Kuddam, a great portion of Karkanad and Venad, and that the last lies between Kottayam and Cape Comorin. Nanjinad is the southernmost portion of it, while the sub-province of Shenkottah lies to the east of it.

The boundaries of the kingdom of Chera were very indefinite and waxed and waned with the prowess[1] or otherwise of the neighbouring kings of Pandya and Chola as is evidenced by the names of Pandyan Dam, Cholapuram, and Muppanthal and the like. The Dam is at the head of the present irrigation system of South Travancore, and it appears to have been built by one of the Pandiyans at the time he dedicated the present shrine at Cape Comorin in honor of the virgin of Virgins—the presiding deity of the place. This of course shows that that king once held sway over this part of Travancore. Cholapuram, (close to Nagercoil) a town of great magnificience, but now in ruins, was built by one of the Cholas,[2] when he was in possession of that part of the country, as can be seen from the inscription found there. Muppanthal which is situated almost at the southern frontiers of the State, is supposed to have been the place where a congress of the three Tamil sovereigns and their advisers was held, after the belligerent forces had laid down their arms in order to conclude a treaty of peace. Chera also appears to have led his victorious army into his neighbours' territories and held a firm grip over certain portions of them. There are evidences to point to the rule of Chera or Travancore over the taluks of Nangunery, Ambasamudram, Tencausy and Sangarnayinar Koil in the Tinnevelly District. The inscriptions in the Terukanamgudy temple in the Nangunery taluk demonstrate the fact. The name of Chermma Devi, the chief town of Ambasamudram, is a significant proof of the connection between Chera and that place. The temple of Malayankulam with its adjacent property in the same taluk is still owned by Travancore, and the fact is proof positive of the sway of Chera or his successors over the regions about it. This portion of the Tinnevelly District was exchanged for a small bit of territory between Shenkottah and Puliyera, and in calculating the revenue of both the places, as the latter yielded Rs. 30 and odd more than the other, that amount is being paid into the British treasury at Tencausy by the Travancore Government. The taluks of Tencausy and Sangaranayinor Koil are so intertwined with Shenkottah that all the three taluks must have once owed allegiance to one and the same ruler. The large establishments maintained in the Courtalam and the Sangaranayinor Koil temples,

1. Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, page 569.
2. Rajendra.

and the vast amount of money spent there daily by Travancore, may also partly prove the connection between the western part of the Tinnevelly District, which was the Thenpandy *nad* according to Tamil writers, and Travancore.

Amongst the three Tamil kings, the Pandyans were the chief patrons of learning, and the three Tamil *Sangams* or Academies were maintained by them one after another between long intervals. It has also been demonstrated that the closing session of the last or the third Academy was held during the first century of the Christian era. There are numerous valuable works written by the members of this literary society and handed down to us. Amongst these are two anthologies containing poems by various poets of eminence, selected and edited by the famous poet Perumthevanaur who is remembered as the author of the first *Bharatham* in Tamil. These works are called *Aganamiru* (inner or esoteric four hundred) and *Purananuru* (outer or exoteric four hundred). Each of these contains four hundred *stanzas*, besides the preface, which is also in metre. These verses are generally in praise of the three kings of the Tamil country and other men who have played a prominent part on the stage of Tamil history. Amongst the latter were tributary princes, prime ministers, generals, courtiers and others.

It appears from *Purananuru* that Nanjinad was once ruled by a prince styled Nanjil Porunan.[3] The word *Porunan* signifies a king or a hero, but in the present instance it appears to have been the family name. Perunthavanaur, the original editor of the anthology, called him Nanjil Valluvan. The term *Valluvan* is generally applied to the priestly class amongst the Pariahs, but in Nanjinad its former ruler is known at present as Nanji Kuruvan. The Kuravas are a nomadic race, and seem to be connected with the aboriginal Kurumbas. They are generally supposed to be experts in surgical operations connected with the human ear. According to the traditionary account that is current at the place, it seems that the province was made a grant of in favour of the founder of the dynasty in return for a skilful operation of the kind referred to above on the ear of an infant princess of the Pandyan family. The Periya or Valiyavettil Moodaliar at Alagiapandiapuram plays a prominent part on all ceremonial occasions, and enjoys certain privileges over his fellow-citizens granted to him by the crown. He is supposed to

3. Stanzas 137, 140, 380, *Purananuru*.

be the descendant of the last prime minister of the Prince of Nanjil. Even at subsequent times, this family appears to have been honoured with the grant of golden ploughs and other marks of royal appreciation. A hillock between Alagiapandiapuram and Kadukaray in the Thovalay taluk, is pointed out as the place where the Porunan held his court. The discovery of gold coins and other momentoes of his rule seems to confirm the popular notion regarding his capital.

It is not known how Nanjinad came to bear its present name—whether the ruler lent his name to it or the province gave its name to him. The Tamil word *Nanjil* means a plough as is evident from stanza 19 of *Purananuru*. It may be that this part of the country derived its name from the large extent of rice-fields there. For in stanzas 137 and 139 of the Anthology Oru Chera Periyanar and Maruthanelanaganar speak of the uncommon fertility of the soil, the consequent superfluity of tilling it, and the large volume of water that is discharged into the sea carrying in its train flowers of variegated colours. The poet also refers to a small waterfall which is evidently Olakaruvy, not far away from Alagiapandiapuram, and the large number of granite hills. In stanza 138 the poet speaks of the large number of beasts that roam in the forests, and the different kinds of fishes that are to be found in the water courses. On the authority of *Chilapathikaram*, we find that the system of catching elephants by means of the pit-system was in vogue in the Chera country at the time of which we are writing, and the Nanjil-Porunan having entrapped a plethora of them, did not know how to dispose of them. For, we see from stanza 140 that when a poor minstrel went to him for relief with his starving family, he presented him with a huge beast which appeared as "a towering hill in the midst of a dense jungle." The poet, of course, mildly rebukes the low-born prince for his selfish inconsiderateness in looking only to his own reputation regardless of the circumstances under which the donee sought his help. Even to-day the northern portion of Nanjinad forms a safe and convenient asylum for herds of these animals. In the same stanza and in the 380th, the poets refer to the Nanjil hill stocked with jack trees that yield the most delicious of fruits. Though the whole of Nanjinad is not fit for the healthy growth of fruit trees of this species, the Nanjil hill and the places north-east of it, are admirably adapted for their cultivation, and they flourish in groves in these localities. From the foregoing description we feel

no doubt that *Purananuru* refers to the modern Nanjinad, the southernmost province of Travancore; but we are inclined to believe that its area was larger than what it is at present, stretching from the Pothiya hill to the sea in a south-westerly direction and at times from sea to sea.

In the preceding paragraphs we have referred to the line of princes who exercised kingly power over Nanjinad as *Nanjil Porunan* and added that, at the present day, the people of the place refer to them as *Nanji Kuravan.* We may further state that, notwithstanding the low origin of that royal house, the people speak of the defunct family with veneration. We called this petty ruler a tributary prince on the authority of stanza 139 of *Purananuru.* For, the poet addressing the Porunan says, "Your king will give you all that you want, and you are certain to lay down your very life for his sake." But we are not in a position to say positively to whom he owed allegiance. Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar, the talented and most erudite editor of *Purananuru,* says that the Porunan was a feudal vassal, rendering military service to the Chera, and I believe he has his authority to say so. On the other hand, Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, another great authority, says that he owed allegiance to the Pandyan. It is our impression that the country of the Porunan, lying between Thenpandinad and Venad, now acknowledged Chera, and now Pandya, as its supreme lord, according to the prowess of each, though its existence as a separate principality was due to the magnanimous liberality of the latter.

In the earlier portion of this paper referrence has already been made to certain places in the Tinnevelly District as having once been an integral part of Travancore or the Chera kingdom. There is so much in common between Nanguneri and Nanjinad that it is probable that both the provinces owed allegiance to one and the same ruler. The people of one place have relations in the other even at the present day, and it is generally said that some of the best families in south Travancore went from the other place. When the inhabitants of Nanjinad adopted the *Marumakathayam* system as their law of inheritance in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the then sovereign of Travancore, some of them had violently to tear away from their blood relations in the Nanguneri taluk, and though no intermarrying and interdinning are kept up at present,

still the relations at one place visit those in the other in remembrance of their past ties. There is a class of people called the "Paravur Sorupani" at Paravur, eight miles south of Quilon, who are so very exclusive that their women seldom mix with outsiders. They claim to have emigrated from Kalacaud in the Nanguneri taluk, and in evidence thereof they use certain Tamil expressions which are peculiarly their own. The other portions of the Tinnevelly District to which reference was made elsewhere, however, must have belonged to some other province of Travancore, and not to Nanjinad.

The same work *Purananuru*, which speaks of the Nanjil principality, also speaks of a chief by name Ay.[4] His capital was Ayendy,[5] and the hill which gave him prominence over his compeers was the sacred Pothiya, the supposed residence of the Rishi Agasthya, the author of the first grammar and other works in Tamil. The verses above referred to not only give a glowing description of the country ruled over by the line of Ay Princes (which also as in the case of Porunan, was a family name,) but also speaks of their acts of philanthropy and of the valiant deeds of one of its princes—Andiram by name, in driving the Kongas into the western sea. Now, naturally the question turns upon the identity of the country ruled over by them. There is a small town known by the name of Ayecudy, seven miles from Shenkottah, and four miles from Tencausy. From its position and the ruins that are to be found here and there, we are of opinion that this is the place referred to in the *Purananuru* as the capital of the principality of Ay. It is not more than thirty miles from the Pothiya hill which has been referred to in the poems as belonging to this king. The area on the west must have extended as much as it had extended on the east up to the Pothiyal hill. This means that the limits of this tributary state reached Punalore and Pathanapuram and perhaps even up to Pandalam, where the descendants of Ay live to-day. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai says,[6] "South of Vaikkara or Kottayam, Ptolomy places the country of Aioi. This was the territory of the Ay, a family of chiefs of the Pothiya hills who were great patrons of poets. The towns Elankon, Kottiara and Bammala may be identified with the modern Vilavancode, Kottar and Ponmana." This description places the principality of

4. See *Purananuru* verses 127—136.
5. See stanzas 132, 241, 374 and 375, *Purananuru*
6. The Tamils: 1800 years ago, page 50.

Ay in Venad, and as already mentioned, it must have extended on the east up to the Pothiya hill, and on the west as far as Panthalam or even further beyond the territories ruled over by the later Rajahs of Kayencolam and Kottarakarai. I should, therefore think that Elankone meant Elukone eleven miles from Quilon, Kottiara Kottarakarai, and Bammala, Punalore or Pathanapuram. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has told us[7] that Ptolomy never visited India, and that his accounts were drawn up from the reports of traders, who visited India from Alexandria and other parts of the Roman Empire. As the chief article of their trade was pepper, they could have directed their footsteps only to places where that commodity could have been obtained in plenty. Vilavacode and Kottar are not pepper producing districts, and the quantity of pepper obtained from Ponmani and its environs is indeed small. But there is not the least doubt that it is obtained largely at Elukone, Kottarakarai, and the places about them. We have already made mention of the extent of the principality of Ay on the eastern side up to the Pothiya hill. The fact of Chera Maha Devi bearing the name of the chief Queen of Chera and Malayamkulom belonging to Travancore at present goes to show that other places about them were once included in the country ruled over by Ay and therefore by the suzerain Chera, whose heir is the present Ruler of Travancore on this side.

The people belonging to Shenkottah and its neighbourhood, particularly the non-Brahmins regard the Panthalam royal family with some reverence. It is generally a custom with Hindus that, when a person proposes to perform an important ceremony such as a marriage in his house, he intimates the fact in due form to the king by the presentation of betel leaves, areca nut, sugar, lime fruits, spices and flowers, and invokes his blessing. Some of the people of Shenkottah and about it still continue to pay this empty homage to the chief of that family. This, of course, means that their ancestors must have held sway over those parts. It is supposed that they were the kinsmen of the Pandyan royal family. They might either have been relations, or dependants, and the principality of Ay must have been granted for services rendered to the Pandyan royal house. We have elsewhere stated that the

7. The Tamils 1800 years ago, page 20.

Panthalam family emigrated to Travancore through the Ghauts.[8] Even after the downfall of the Pandyan house, some of the members of this family remained at Madura attached to the Naick kings, but stress of circumstances compelled them to take refuge in Travancore, and according to traditionary accounts, the members of that house are said to have moved from Ayecudy to Elathure, from there to Koniyur, through the Achankovil pass, and finally from there to Panthalam. At a later date Samboor Vadakaray was in the possession of the Raja of Kayencolam and the town of Shenkottah in that of the Rajah of Kottarakarai, but we shall not dwell on that subject in the present paper. Here it is enough to state that there is a place called Ayecudy belonging to a Naick Zemindar in the Madura District, but it is not contiguous to the Pothiya hills and does not answer to the description of Ptolemy and *Purananuru*.

It requires no proof to convince our readers that Tamil is spoken at Nanjinad and Shenkottah at present and that they are, therefore, the Tamil speaking provinces of the Malayalam State of Travancore. We have already stated that the close of the last session of the third Academy was during the first century of the Christian era, and the poets whose verses find place in the collection of *Purananuru* were all members of that literary assembly. But it is too much to say that all of them—about one hundred and sixty in number—lived at one and the same time. Some of them must have flourished earlier, and some during the first century. This is also the view taken by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai. If the poets who immortalised the royal house of Nanjil Porunan and Ay belonged to the first century and times anterior to it, the origin of the two principalities must have been earlier still.

Thus, the king of ancient Travancore, an offspring of more hoary Chera, who consolidated his dominions and made his mark before the third century B. C.[9] along with his other two brother Tamil sovereigns, secured Nanjinad and Shenkottah which included in them a greater area of territory than at present, most likely from sea to sea, and probably also Kakkur close to Ramnad where Travancore owns property at present.

T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAI.

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8. The Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. III.
9. Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. I, page, 18.

THE GENESIS OF KERALA.

(Continued).

OF all the invaders of ancient India the Nagas or Takshaks,[1] one of the several totemistic races composing the Sakas of Hindu writers—the Sacæ or Scythians of European history—were the most turbulent as well as the earliest known to history. From their Central Asian eyrie they appear to have, time and again, pounced upon the fertile valleys and plains of Ind, and Sanskrit literature, from the Vedic hymns sung about 4000 years ago to *Nagananda*, composed in the seventh century, A. D. is replete with characteristic references to this serpent race. The Vedic Aryans, it is said, were not a little harassed by *ahis*[2] or serpents, and many are the spirited hymns in the *Rig Veda* in which the destruction of Vritra, the chief of these enemies, is narrated with much glee and rejoicing.[3] In the time of the *Mahabharata* we find them already settled and in constant contact with kings and sages in the northern regions of Hindustan, and the work describes, in its own figurative style, how king Parikshit was assassinated by a Takshak and how his son and successor, Janamajaya, who "went everywhere, conquering the earth up to its ends" carried on exterminating warfare against the race. In the *Ramayana* it is stated that the sacrificial horse was stolen by Takshaks, and the Puranic literature bears eloquent testimony to their wars and dynastic achievements. When Alexander invaded India, he found an ally in one of their chiefs, Taxiles,[4] by name, who, says Arrian, was invested with the title and estates of his father by the Macedonian king—the first investiture, it is interesting to note by the way, of an Indian feudatory, ever held by a European suzerain. We are, however, here concerned only with their invasion which, some twenty-five centuries ago, burst like a hurricane on the valley of the Indus and thence swept across

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1. The word *Naga* is Sanskrit for "serpent" (and is cognate with *snake)* which was the totem of this race, and in *Takshak* we have the name of one of the eight arch-serpents of Puranic mythology. The two appellations point to the well-known ophiolatrous institutions and reputed ophidian ancestry of the race which Col. Tod identifies with "the ancient Scythic *Tachari* of Strabo, the *Tak-i-uks* of the Chinese, the *Tajuks* of the present day of Turkistan."

2. *Ahi* also means "serpent" in Sanskrit and is cognate with the Greek word *opheos.*

3. *Vide* the Rig Veda, I, 32, 1—8.

4. *Taxiles* literally means "lord of the abode of Takshaks" and is made up of *Taxila* (*i. e.* Takshasila, the abode of Takshaks) and *Isa* (Sansk.), lord.

to the furthermost limits of India, Naga Hills in Assam and Negapatam on the Coromandel Coast, and even beyond, and which, for more reasons than one, marks an epoch in Indian history.

Our knowledge of the course of this invasion is largely of the nature of deductions from results, such as they are available, of investigations into Indian geographical names and the distribution of Indian races and languages, which it would be out of place here to go into, and these deductions stand supported by traditions derived from divers sources. Thus we may take it as established that the horde, like many another invader before and after it, entered India through her Achilles' heel—the North-West Frontier—and pushed southward along the Indus down to the Nurbada river, about which lay the Haihaya kingdom of the thousand-armed Arjuna and then separated into two branches. One of these struck across Central India right up to Assam on the one side and to the Godavery regions on the other, and then oversea to Cambodia and Ceylon, and erected, in its course, a dynasty of ten kings—the Sisunaga dynasty—to rule over Magadha (Behar), while the other went on in its southward course along the West Coast down to Cape Comorin, sending out occasional offshoots athwart the Ghauts far into the Deccan. It was this southern branch of the Naga family which subjugated the aboriginal Dravidians of Southern India and imposed its serpent-worship and other institutions on them and then eventually established itself in the rich, congenial valley of the Western Ghauts—Kerala. And it was this branch, again, which, under the leadership of Parasurama, routed Arjuna, the enemy of the Bhrigu clan of Brahmins of Broach, as already mentioned.

There is reason to suppose that the divarication of the Nagas was the outcome of pressure from this Haihaya chief. This migrant body advanced southward as far as his dominions about the Nurbada, but at this point, we observe a part of the horde—its northern branch—stopping short and leaving the rich pasture-lands before it for the arid plains of Central India. Indeed, the *Bhavishya Purana*, as already pointed out, has a distinct reference to his subjugation of this northern branch, though there is no question as to the fact that he finally owed his defeat and expulsion to the arms of this powerful race. We have also seen that the Puranic writers all agree in making out the vanquishment of this king as the mission

of Parasurama who is said to have made war upon the Kshatriya race in general, but differ—significantly enough—as to the details of this *casus belli.*

We have only to piece the above facts together to get an intelligible account of the events under discussion—a correct view of the personality of Parasurama. Thus we conclude that the Haihaya chief, in opposing the onward march of a horde of Naga invaders from the north, succeeded in overcoming one of its divisions and compelled its retreat towards Central India, but was routed by the other (and stronger) division led by Parasurama in co-operation with the Bhrigu clan of Brahmins of Broach, the sworn enemy of the Haihayas, and that the victors, very probably, followed up their triumph by a more or less successful expedition against the Kshatriyas in general. The Brahmins, true to their usual methods of compromise and conciliation, readily adopted the ophiolatrous institutions of these new-comers within the pale of Hinduism, the enemies of Arjuna's race and champions of Brahmindom, and flattered their vanity by installing them as a new race of Kshatriyas, and we accordingly find the Nairs—the descendants of these Nagas who colonized Kerala[5] —to this day, occupying, like their cousins of Rajputana, the place of Kshatriyas in the economy of the local caste system. The Bhrigu Brahmins abovementioned appear to have gone so far as to become the special votaries of the cult of their allies, and their descendants, the "Bhargava" Brahmins, still found in and about Broach, are said to be distinguished by their peculiar practice of serpent-worship. As for Parasurama, the Puranic chroniclers have invented a Brahmin pedigree and, later on, even deified him. But facts are still not wanting which enable us to tear off this hoary cloak of divinity and discover the real identity of the Naga chief within.

The worship of Parasurama's mother, Renuka, more commonly known as Yellama, is very largely affected by the South Indian people, chiefly by the non-Brahmin section thereof. A carefully compiled conspectus of the deities and gods of the South Indian Hindu pantheon, classified on the basis of Ziegenbalg's "Malabar gods," places her in the front rank of village deities and has the following note on the subject:—

5. For a neat summary of the arguments conclusive of this vexed question, the Naga descent of the Nairs, see the Malayalam magazine of "The Nayar," Vol. I, pp. 9—14.

"*Yellammah*—She is identified with the Hindu Renooca, that is to say, the wife of the Rishy Jamadagny and the mother of Parashurama. Round her head are serpents.[6] The principal images found in her temples besides that of herself are those of her husband and son mentioned above. The priest in her pagodas is a Pandauram."

In some villages, the goddess is worshipped under the name of *Nagattamma*, "the serpent-mother," the image, however, exhibiting differences in details, while the corresponding deity in the Malayalam country is *Nagakanya*, "the serpent-virgin" who is represented as half-woman-and-half-serpent and whose fane finds a place in almost every house without exception.

Here it may be noted that the conception of the deity, in all cases, combines—though in various modes—features, human and ophidian. Sometimes it is a woman's head wearing a single serpent or a couple or couples twined in caducean fashion. In other cases such as the snake stones of Ceylon, the representation is exactly of the kind described by Milton,

> "Woman to the waist, and fair
> But ended foul in many a scaly fold."

A type of sculpture of decidedly unmistakable significance is met with in the neighbourhood of Hassan and Halabeed in Mysore—the figure of a woman with a serpent twining round the right thigh, accompanied by a "small figure, clothed for a cold climate, in a posture of adoration."

The subject of all the sculptured representations, it is scarcely necessary to add, is the serpent-woman, the supposed ancestress of the Nagas, living in, and through, her descendant, Parasurama's mother, and a more striking confirmation of this conclusion it is not possible to conceive than the following passage in which Diodorus Siculus gives the legendary origin of this Scythic race:—

"The Scythians had their first abodes on the Araxes. Their origin was from a virgin, born of the earth, of the shape of a woman from the waist upwards, and bolow, a serpent."

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6. It is worthy of note that her modern descendant, the Nair woman, similarly be-jewels herself with serpents—not, however, in flesh and blood, but their images in gold, called *nagapatam*.

The "smaller figure" in the Mysore sculpture is, no doubt, meant for Parasurama paying homage to his mother or eponym, and his clothing "as for a cold climate" is conclusive of his Scythian birth.

Fortunately for us, the Puranic literature, not unoften, admits of being read between the lines. The Parasurama traditions, if submitted to this process, will be found to have gone through four distinct stages of development, the *first* of which shows him in his true character as a *Naga*, the *second* represents him as a *Kshatriya*, the *third*, as a *Brahmin*, and the last and *fourth*, as an incarnation of *Vishnu*, the god of preservation.

The *first* stage refers to the *historical*, as opposed to the *mythical*, side of Parasurama's life and is represented by those contemporaneous traditions which, in spite of the manipulation of subsequent Puranic writers, give us glimpses of his *real* character and exploits. In other words there was a time when he lived in popular tradition as no more than the Naga conqueror that he really was. Thus the Puranas assert that he was born in the Nurbada regions and that he retired, after exterminating the Kshatriyas, to do penance in the Mahendra[7] mountains, in which we read the historical fact of his conquest of South India. The river Nurbada was his Rubicon, and Mahendra or Mahendragiri, the peak which stands out of the Western Ghauts ranging some 4,000 ft. high, about twenty miles north of Cape Comorin marked the southern boundary of his colony. There are caves and cairns in these hill-regions still pointed out as the sacred seat of Parasurama, or *Chathan* (lit. "the deceased ancestor") as he is locally known, to whom nightly lamps are also lit by the aboriginal Malayarayars. The Mysore sculptures mentioned above are said to "have an appearance of extreme antiquity," being worn and mouldered by age, and they must have been produced at an age when people yet remembered Parasurama's Naga descent.

But this remembrance was, in all probability, short-lived. For, we find him already with a *sang bleu* Aryan pedigree in the earliest of the Puranas and even in the *Ramayana*. His prowess and achievements the Brahmin chroniclers loved to extol as a counter-

7. This Mahendragiri should not be confounded with the other peak of the same name in the Eastern Ghauts where, of course, there are no Parasurama traditions at all.

poise to the glorious memories of their adversaries, of the Solar and Lunar races, and they raised the "fiery" Parasurama—the adjective is Puranic—to the rank of a Kshatriya, and, at a later stage, even to the highest caste, and claimed him as one of themselves. The invented pedigrees, however, betray themselves by reason of the absurdities and inconsistencies involved. One writer perpetrates the well-known monstrous legend of exchange of dishes to explain how a Brahmin's son as Parasurama was came to be endowed with the qualities of a Kshatriya. Another makes his mother a daughter of the Haihaya king Arjuna with whom she is elsewhere accused of an attempted amour. The stage at which Parasurama was deified represents the bold attempt made by Puranic Hinduism to recover lost ground by the adoption of alien gods and systems of worship. Indeed the deification is, one might almost say, not yet quite a *fait accompli.* Though he is included in the traditional list of Hindu *avatars*, he does not, as yet, command the awe and reverence in which the other *avatars* are generally held. Nor is he, like them, believed to have gone back to Heaven after the fulfilment of his mission on earth. There is scarcely a temple of note dedicated to him. On the other hand he is the reputed founder of 108 temples in Kerala. "The doctrine of the avatars," says a critic of the Puranic literature whose competency to speak on the subject is beyond question, "afforded an opportunity of identifying Vishnu with favourite heroes of tradition. Such were Rama or Ramchendra who extended his conquests to Ceylon; and Parshoorama, the "axe-Rama," a native hero of the Deccan, whom the Brahmins canonized as the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas." The "axe-Rama," it will be observed, is still regarded as more human than divine.

Although the Nagas appear to have conquered about the whole of peninsular India, their principal settlement was, as we have seen, the rich sea coast valley of the Western Ghauts, which has ever remained, pre-eminently, the locale of their institutions and influence and the *point d'appui* of all Parasurama traditions. Alike in the earliest Puranas and in the *sankalpa* formula of the Tamil Brahmin —the latest settler in Malabar—Kerala figures as "Parasurama's land." Its people look upon him as their own hero and the *fons et origo* of all their unique institutions: they attribute to him the promulgation of their laws, the organization of their caste system, the foundation of their temples and systems of worship, and, of

course, as may be supposed, the reclamation, from the sea, of their country as well as its original colonization.

Parasurama seems to have flourished about the seventh century B. C. He led the southern branch of the Naga horde whose northern branch founded the Sisunaga dynasty in Magadha, in succession to the reign of Nandivardhana, the twenty-sixth king after Sahadeva who was reigning at the time of the Mahabharata war (*circa* 1194 B. C.) Allowing an average period of 20 years[8] to these twenty-seven rulers we arrive at 654 B. C. as the year of the foundation of the Sisunaga dynasty. Bimbisara, the fifth of this dynasty, ascended the throne, we know, in 537 B. C. and calculating back from this point on the basis of the above average we get 617 B. C. as the date of the event. The Naga incursion and Parasurama's conquest of Kerala must, therefore, be assigned to about seven centuries before the Christian era at which period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horse" is alike recorded by Ezekiel and Diodorus. And we may well take it that it was not long after this period that the ancestor-worshipping people of Kerala embalmed the name of their hero in all manner of myths and legends including, of course, the story of his miraculous reclamation of their country. Thus was the idea of a direct divine agency imported into the original account of the upheaval of Kerala handed down by those who had direct knowledge thereof, and the legendary made this geological event an *act of God* in the literal sense of the expression. The story, however, did not find its way into the Sanskrit literature until Brahmin immigrants from the north settled in Kerala and became acquainted with its legendary lore (about the fifth century of the Christian era).[9] And this explains the fact already noticed that Parasurama's name was not yet connected with Kerala in the writings of the Puranic authors at the time the *Agni Purana* was composed, which was not earlier than the fifth century A. D.

The different traditions that have come down to us of the genesis of Kerala have been compared, analysed and examined in their various bearings, and we find that they are all in essential

8. This is the average assigned by Mr. R. C. Dutt. Col. Tod is of opinion that it should be 22 years. Either way our conclusion remains substantially unaffected.

9. *Vide* the writer's article on "The Kurichas of the Wynaad" published in *The Malabar Quarterly Review* for December 1903.

agreement and have but one tale to tell, *viz.*, that this interesting strip of land was formed by way of upheaval from the bottom of the sea more than twenty-five centuries ago but within the knowledge of man. And this conclusion receives striking confirmation from the evidence preserved in certain geographical names which show not only that the countries adjoining Kerala were inhabited long prior to its upheaval but also that the inhabitants had direct knowledge thereof.

The name "Coorg" is only the Anglicised form of the native name, "Kodaku" which as well as "Kongu," the ancient name of the country represented by the present Coimbatore District and thereabouts, are traceable to a common Dravidian root, and they both mean "the western land." The fact is indicative of a time when the tracts denoted by these two names went to mark the western extremity of peninsular India. Geological and ethnological researches tell us that the southern part of the Deccan plateau in its condition of dry land is of immense antiquity and that, from the earliest times, it has been occupied by the Dravidian race. There are local traditions which make the existence of the Dravidian dynasty of *Cheramans* or kings of the Chera country coeval with the origin of the world itself. The Cheraman—if we may accept the testimony furnished by the derivation of the name "Kerala" and corroborating circumstances which cannot lie—was ruling over the country about Coimbatore when the new strip of land shot up from within the sea, and this accretion or western continuation of Chera was deemed and named as a part of his kingdom and colonized by his subjects. "Kerala" means, as has been already shown, "the salt-marsh of Chera" the name, no doubt, having been suggested by the natural marshiness of the newly-formed land of which a portion which may be roughly described as stretching from Trichur eastward up to the Palghat gap is said to have been colonized when the country to the north and south of this belt still lay unfit for occupation. This colony whose foundation is attested not only by certain traditional observances and beliefs but also by the ruins of houses said to be still extant in the forest regions at the foot of the Ghauts about the gap abovementioned[10] is said to have long enjoyed the specific name of "Cheraman's land," and it still includes places with particularly suggestive names.[11]

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL.

(To be continued.)

10. *Vide* "The History of Malayalam Literature" by Mr. P. Govinda Pillai, B. A., Chapter II, p. 36.

11. "Cheralayam" is the name of a place about 10 miles south of Pattambi, and and it reminds us of the ancient "Cheralam."

THE LAND OF SRI SANKARACHARYA.

1. Introduction.

Of the innumerable triumphs of the nineteenth century, none is to the Hindus so great a matter for gratification as the universal recognition, by the highly cultured and enlightened nations of Europe and America, of the fact that the ancient philosophers of India—Kapila, Badarayana, Sankara and others—deserve to be ranked with Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Berkeley, Kant, Hegel and other teachers of mankind.

Indian Philosophy.

Indian philosophy may not find favour with our students trained in our schools and colleges, who are more accustomed to western modes of thought, and who are busy with newspapers and magazines, with war telegrams, and sensational novels, with countless social and other time-killing engagements. As our young men like to have only the net result, to begin where philosophers end, and to have the whole of any school of philosophy in a nutshell, they nave little or no patience to follow the lead of any Indian philosopher.

The procedure of Indian philosophers in discussing a topic.

Our philosophers do not at once dive into the subject. With the desire of making their conclusions as cogent and convincing as possible, they first of all, make a bare statement of the subject (*Vishaya*) proposed for discussion. Then the doubts (*Samsaya*) about the subject are clearly and exhaustively set forth. These doubts enumerate the various points from which the subject has to be investigated. The opponent or *Purvapakshin* generally takes up the opposite view, urges his powerful arguments against the subject, brings to light all the weak points in it, and at times appears to demolish the arguments. The author attempts an explanation (*Uttarapaksha*) of the objections, meets all the arguments of his opponent, and finally shows that his position is invulnerable. After summing up the *pros* and *cons*, the author states the final conclusion, *Nirnaya* or *Siddhanta*. These five members—*Panchanya*—are essential to the discussion of every philosophic question, and without these, the *Sastra* will be considered to be defective. A topic investigated according to these five members constitutes an *Adhikarana*, and a number of connected *Adhikaranas* constitutes a *Sastra*.

Secondly, our philosophers consider it absolutely necessary to open their *Sastra* with the *Anubandha chatushtaya*. Sayanacharya's elaborate introduction to the Rigveda and Vidyaranya's learned introduction to his admirable commentary on the *Taitteiriyopanishad* may be consulted to ascertain what amount of erudition is necessary to establish these four relations. The following lucid explanation of the technical term by Dr. Ballantyne will be found interesting.

Anubandha.

"With reference to the commencing of any scientific work, according to Hindu opinion, four questions present themselves—(1) what qualifications are required to render one competent to enter upon the study? (2) What is the subject matter? (3) What connection is there between the subject matter and the book itself? and (4) what inducement is there to enter upon the study at all? The answer to each of the questions is called an *Anubandha*—a "bond of connexion," or "cause"—because, unless a man knows what a given book is about, and whether he is competent to understand it, and what good the knowledge will do him, he cannot be expected to apply himself to the study of the book."

These four elements of writing a scientific work are respectively known as *Adhikari*, *Vishaya*, *Sambandha*, and *Prayojana*. In the educational institutions of this country, much importance is attached to the *Adhikari* at his admission into a class. The failures at the University and Government examinations show the *non-Adhikaris*. If equal importance be attached to *Prayojana*—the utility of the subjects taught—the instruction now imparted in schools will have an educative value. A strict adherence to the *Sambandha*, the relation between the books and the subjects attempted to be treated therein, will no doubt result in removing them from the list of approved texts. In practical life, any one willing to be guided by these *Anubandhas* will be induced to put a stop to all desultory or aimless study and seek such books only as have some bearing on his conduct.

Thirdly, there seems to be no limit to the power of *analysis* of our philosophers. Their process of division and sub-division of notions gives rise to much hairsplitting. Their skill in the definitions of technical terms, the nicety and precision which may, to the uninitiated, appear to be tedious and tiresome, are really admirable, inasmuch as all future wrangling likely to arise from the indefinite nature of these terms, if left undefined, is set aside once for all. This is especially the case with the later *Naiyayika* works. Though the definitions of our philosophers are not exhaustive and are often verbal, they are practically useful. Compared with

Western Logic, the views of Indian logicians regarding the function and nature of definitions are somewhat narrow, and consequently many of the definitions found in our works on *Nyaya* will be rejected as inconsequential.

The honesty of Indian Philosophers.

Though the Indian philosophers' hairsplitting distinctions, their process of countless divisions and sub-divisions of the topics, their imaginary *Purvapakshin* with his loud and powerful objections, their mode of dealing with the arguments advanced by their opponents, and their final decisions arrived at by laborious argumentation may not be found interesting to our students, the Indian philosophers' fearless honesty and outspokennes springing from that genuine love of truth, for the sake of truth, must command our highest admiration. Having once taken up a position in their search after truth, they do not move an inch from it; they do not shirk the logical consequences of their conclusions; they are not afraid of their opinions running counter to popular views and prejudices, and of bringing on themselves public odium. Their one grand and noble object is to see that from their nicely and skilfully worded definitions and arguments based upon accepted premises the desired conclusions may be drawn according to the principles of *Nyaya* or Logic. By creating a man of straw, as their opponent or *Purvapakshin*, who has to hurl from all imaginable standpoints, cogent arguments at their system of philosophy, our Indian philosophers seem at first to show their own weak points; but in reality they fortify their position by proving those very points to be irrefragable. Thus they expound their theories, explain away all objections, and finally lead us to the desired conclusions.

To avoid obloquy they do not seek shelter under a cloud of ambiguous words. So it is quite possible for us to ascertain the decisive opinion and the exact position of any one of our philosophers. The same cannot be said of some of the modern philosophers of the West, who caring more for their popularity than for love of truth, and fearing the anathema of the church more than the dictates of their own conscience, leave their readers utterly in the dark as regards their private opinion on many of the vexed questions of the day.

From what is said above, it will be evident why Indian commentators never criticise the views of the authors whose works they

comment on. Having undertaken to set forth the views of the authors, our commentators think that they are bound in honesty to expound only the intended meaning and defend the authors from all unfair criticism. When they find that an author is manifestly in the wrong, they propose amendments or emendations as if coming from outsiders. They never sit in judgment on their authors.

Sankara's Advaita Philosophy.

Sri Sankaracharya, one of the greatest of Indian philosophers, if not the greatest, is certainly the foremost of the exponents of the Advaita philosophy. This system attempts to show that the subject—"I" and the object—"thou" are identically the same in their nature and essence. The self that is conscious of the external world, and the external world that produces in the self the notion of separateness are one and the same. The whole phenomenal world with its varieties of beings and objects is an illusion projected before the mind of the individual soul by the power of *Avidya* or nescience. *Avidya* is not merely the negation of knowledge, but it is something positive and denotes the presence of false knowledge. Just as the deceptions played upon our senses, by a magician make us believe in their being realities, so *Avidya* makes us treat the phenomenal world as a real world. In deep dreamless sleep we are quite ignorant of the external world. The senses and the mind that during the waking state establish relations with the external world and the internal self do not exercise their functions during dreamless sleep. The self is then said to have attained its own natural condition, *Svapya*. The self is not drawn to the objects of the senses by passions and desires, is free from all cares and anxieties, and therefore it has reached a state of quiescence.

The body, the senses, and the mind constitute the *Upadhis* or the conditions that limit the powers of the self and produce in it the notion of personal individuality and separateness. The *Upadhis* are due to *Avidya* which is removed by means of spiritual knowledge or *Vidya*. *Vidya* enables the self to know its real nature and its identity with Brahman; it gets rid of these *Upadhis* and becomes one with Brahman and is no more liable to transmigration. This condition is known as absolution or *Moksha*. The highest aim of the Vedanta is to effect this absolution by means of true knowledge.

In working out the details, of this theory and making it consistent and harmonious, the Advaita philosopher is compelled to

assume the existence of *Avidya* as inherent both in the individual souls and the Supreme Soul and to postulate the existence of the world as the result of this *Avidya*. The *Avidya* in the case of the Supreme Soul is called *Maya*. The appearance and disappearance of the world at each *Kalpa* correspond to human activity and inactivity during wakefulness and sleep. What we conceive as real during our waking hours does not exist in our sleep and what we perceive in our dreams does not exist as realities in our waking as well as sleeping states. So the external things which we cognise as real, unreal, and non-existent during three states of our consciousness cannot in themselves be real. Relatively they are real. Their real nature is not known to us through our innate ignorance or *Avidya*. When their real nature is found, the "all" becomes "one" and one becomes the "all."

Brahman is one mass of Intelligence. It is unalterable, and therefore cannot be the agent of any action. For action and agency imply motives, and motives imply defects. The all-perfect Brahman cannot be supposed to have any motives, cannot be made to act as agent, for there is no cause transcending Brahman. So to account for the creation of the world which the Vedas ascribe to God, the Advaita philosopher is compelled to make another assumption that the unalterable, indivisible Brahman has two aspects—conditioned and unconditioned, *Saguna Brahman*, possessing attributes, and *Nirguna Brahman*, destitute of attributes. The word aspect is used with reference to the individual souls and means that Brahman may, conformably to the declaration of the Upanishads, be understood first as possessing qualities and attributes necessary for the creation, sustenance and destruction of the world. Such a Brahman by a law of thought implies another Brahman transcending the conditions of time, space and cause. There are passages in the Upanishads that seem to explain this Brahman or Para Brahman or the unconditioned Brahman.

When engaged in the origination, subsistence and dissolution of the world, *Saguna Brahman* is known as Isvara. He guides the *Jivas* or human souls in their journey of life and enables them to enjoy the fruits of their actions. When Isvara retires from the world, the whole universe is reabsorbed in himself. He is now no longer an agent, is free and independent. He is alone and there is none beside him. He is now called *Nirguna Brahman* or *Para*

Brahman. Now there are passages in the Upanishads which describe Brahman as possessing many good qualities; while there are other passages in the same Upanishads which describe Brahman as entirely destitute of all qualities and attributes. Attempting to reconcile these two sets of contradictory texts of scripture, the Advaita philosopher has classed together the passages referring to *Saguna Brahman* as constituting *Aparâvidyâ*, and those referring to *Nirguna Brahman* as constituting *Parâvidyâ*. *Parâvidyâ* alone leads to emancipation which consists in realizing the identity of one's self with *Para Brahman*.

As the individual soul is one with Brahman, and as Brahman is ever pure, intelligent, free, independent and eternal, the bondage (*bandha*) is also false and is due to the operation of *Avidya*. If bondage is real, it must be either the nature of the souls or an accident. As nature cannot be altered, there can be no liberation if bondage is the nature of the souls. The unquestionable testimony of scriptures and of the liberated souls proves the possibility of liberation from the bondage of the worldly existence (*Samsâra*). Hence bondage cannot be the nature of the souls. We are now left to the other alternative—that bondage is an accident. If bondage is an accident, it must have originated in time. Prior to the origination of this bondage, there must have been innumerable souls. All these souls must have been affected by the cause of bondage or only some must have fallen victims to it. As accident is not regulated by the law of causation, it is not reasonable to suppose why some souls must be made to suffer from bondage, and if all are believed to suffer from it, there is no reason to suppose why the liberated souls should not be affected by this accident. The Upanishads maintain that Para Brahman is one without a second, and that Para Brahman is ever free and independent. They also urge that the liberated souls do not return to worldly existence. Hence Brahman and the liberated souls are not subject to bondage. As all souls are the manifestation of Brahman, the bondage cannot affect the individual souls. As the cause of bondage is not an external one, it must be an internal one. This is *Avidyâ*.

If bondage is real, then those who are under bondage, and Brahman who is not under bondage cannot be one. But the Upanishads assert that the *Jivas* are one with Brahman. If bondage is real, it cannot be removed by any amount of spiritual

knowledge. *Vidyà* or knowledge being opposed to ignorance, can remove only false knowledge. Since scriptures unanimously declare that liberation from bondage is effected by spiritual knowledge alone, bondage must be unreal or false. It must therefore be the result of *Avidyà*.

Karma or action is not the cause of this bondage, inasmuch as *Karma* presupposes the existence of souls in embodied forms. If imprisonment within the walls of the mortal body is brought about by *Karma*, and if *Karma* is possible to be done only when the soul is provided with a body, the acceptance of *Karma* as the cause of bondage, will only make us argue in a circle. *Avidya* brings about bondage and makes the soul believe that it is an agent. This false belief gives rise to actions. To suffer the consequences of these actions the soul is made by Isvara to pass through many births.

This assumption of *Avidyà* has led the Advaita philosopher to deny the reality of the world and of bondage, and to make a distinction between Para *Brahman*, and A*para Brahman*, as well as between *Parà Vidya* and A*parà Vidya*. It has enabled him to maintain the identity of the human soul with Brahman, to reconcile the conflicting passages of the Upanishads dwelling upon the qualities and attributes of Brahman, and to construct a system of philosophy beyond which human speculation cannot go. The Sankhya philosophers start with the assumption that there are only two substances —*Purusha* or spirit and P*rakriti* or matter. Matter is dead, inert, and incapable of acting, but when cognised by spirit, it becomes active. Dead matter lighted up by the intelligent Purusha appears to be intelligent and active. The Purusha identifies himself with the activity of matter and becomes steeped in ignorance. Matter thus energized by spirit evolves itself in various forms and gives rise to creation. When this ignorance or false knowledge—*Mithyajnàna*—is removed by means of discrimination—*Viveka*—between the P*urusha* and P*radhàna*—spirit and matter, P*urusha* regains his original state and is said to be liberated. When her real nature is realized by P*urusha*, P*rakriti* ashamed of herself ceases to entrap P*urusha*. So according to the Sankhyâ system, P*rakriti* or matter is the cause of creation.

Sankhya Philosophy.

Creation.

According to the Sankhyà philosophy, God or Isvara, cannot be the creator of the world. As there can be no action on the part of an intelligent being without definite motives, God's motive in creating the universe must be either to gratify a pleasure that did not exist in Him prior to the creation, or to avoid a pain inflicted on Him by some one superior to Himself. The acceptance of either of these alternatives leads to the supposition that the Creator is an imperfect being. One swayed by motives and desires is like an ordinary mortal except that He is a little more powerful. Since such powers are accessible to one who is engaged in the practices of yoga, it is not necessary to assume Isvara as the creator of the universe. This argument combined with the doctrine of causation or *Satkarya Vada* has compelled the Sankhyas to repudiate Isvara as the cause of creation. The Sankhyas hold that the effect does not differ from the cause, and that as all products known to us are the effects of matter, and as spirit is not liable to change, creation is not an evolution of spirit. Hence *Prakriti* is the cause of creation. This is at variance with the texts of scriptures, and therefore the Vedantin to whom the scriptures are a greater authority than even the evidence of his own senses and his reason, is bound to reject the Sankhya heresy by assuming the *Avidya* of the Supreme Soul as the cause of creation.

Here we notice that the Sankhya philosophers also have to assume false knowledge or *Mithyajnana* as inherent in *Purusha*, in order that primordial inert matter may become active and evolve forms and products. Is not *Mithyajnana* the same as *Avidya*? The Nyaya Sutras of Gautama also maintain that the cause of all misery is false knowledge. The followers of the Vaiseshika philosophy hold that creation is brought about by the combination of two *paramanus*, is caused by *Adrishta* or 'unseen force.' This unseen force is the same as the unknown power of the Vedantins—the *Avidya*. The Puranikas account for the creation by describing it as the *Lila* of the Lord. Just as we cannot account for the outburst of the spontaneous energy of a child, in virtue of which it engages itself in varieties of sports without premeditated plans and motives, so we cannot account for the manifestation of Divine Energy in the creation of the world. We are too insignificant to fathom the depth of Divine Wisdom and unravel the mystery of Divine Love.

It cannot be disputed that the great Acharyas who have written such learned commentaries on the three *Prasthanas*—the Upanishads, the Brahma Sutras, and the Bhagavadgita—first elaborated their theories of cosmology and metaphysics and then interpreted the *Prasthanas* in the light of their preconceived theories. Accordingly we find that Sankaracharya is at times compelled to read his own thoughts into the Upanishads, the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavadgita. As the followers of each of the Vedantic schools—Advaita, Visishtadvaita, Suddhadvaita and Dvaita—regard the interpretation of the *Prasthanas* by their several Acharyas as the only correct or inspired exposition and reject that of others, their attempts to cry down the theories of their opponents lead to interminable wrangling and often to strong invectives.

Sankara's Interpretation.

In spite of the interpretations according to the preconceived theories and in spite of the assumptions explained above, Sankaracharya alone has succeeded in reconciling and harmonising the apparently conflicting passages and theories of the Upanishads. An unbiassed study of the Upanishads will show that they all point to that form of the Vedanta which attempts to identify the subject with the object. As the aim of the Brahmasutras is to systematise the teachings of the Upanishads, and explain away their contradictions, Sankaracharya who looked upon Smriti as a *Pratysksha Pramana* and accepted other *Pramanas* only if they were in conformity with scripture, was bound to support the theories of the Upanishads as understood by him and interpret the Sutras consistently with the Upanishads. In this he has succeeded in an eminent degree. But it cannot be asserted that this interpretation of the Brahmasutras is the only right explanation and the one that Badarayana intended to convey by them.

Advaitism.

If the end and aim of all science and philosophy is to find out unity in the midst of diversity, Sankara deserves credit for his Advaita philosophy. His merit lies in his having discovered this underlying unity of the teachings of the Upanishads and in having expounded the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavadgita in perfect harmony with the views of the Upanishads. His Advaita philosophy is in perfect accord with the teachings of the three *Prasthanas*, in which according to Professor Max Muller, human speculation has reached its

acme. "All this," says the Chandogya Upanishad, "becomes known when Brahman is known."

Philosophy and Religion.

As the object of our philosophical systems is to give that instruction which is necessary for the liberation of the soul from the bondage of existence, our philosophy cannot be divorced from religion; the two must rise or fall together. A philosophy in conflict with religion will be reckoned as a heresy and will die an early death, and a religion without a philosophical side to prop it up will not be acceptable to Hindu minds. So religion and philosophy are essential to our spiritual life. Foreigners say that this combination of religion and philosophy having formed part and parcel of Indian life has made the Hindus "a nation of philosophers." We are fond of dreaminess and mysticism. We indulge in vague and indefinite notions of God. Cultivation of philosophy deprives the people of civic virtues and disqualifies them for political life. These are some of the charges brought against our philosophy. A better study of Indian history and literature may lead us to a different conclusion.

Sankara was the first Indian reformer that broke down most of the religious sects and made them act as members of one great and grand religion. India's spiritual and political salvation can be achieved only if her sons can meet on a common platform and shake hands as brothers of *one national* religion. This religion is the Vedanta.

In the introduction to the commentary on the Bhagavadgita, Sankaracharya has shown that devotion to religions works and devotion to spiritual knowledge are the two paths of the Vedic religion and are intended for the liberation of the suffering humanity. In his opinion the Vedic religion is the most cosmopolitan religion and the caste distinctions are natural barriers interposed by *Karma* for the gradual evolution of the soul to higher and more spiritual life. Neither science nor philosophy can satisfactorily account for the so-called "freaks of Nature,"—social inequalities and differences of intellectual endowments as the doctrine of *Karma* does; and no religion can justify the ways of God to man and reconcile him to his lot as does the Vedanta. How the grand doctrine of the identity of the human soul with the Supreme Brahman can be utilised for

providing man with the best principles of the conduct of life and what practical lessons may be profitably deduced from this sublime truth, can be learned by a cursory glance at that wonderful book—"In Tune with the Infinite" by Ralph Waldo Trine. The other works of this author show the application of the Vedantic doctrine to every day life. This author's views will silence all the cavillers who maintain that the Vedanta is subversive of social progress and antagonistic to all morality.

Sankara's influence.

Though many reformers came after Sankara, their influence was more or less limited and local and was never so pervading as Sankara's. Like the Ganges his mighty influence flows from the Himalayas and extends over the whole of the continent of India. It is a matter for gratification that the sublime philosophy of the Vedanta has now begun to exercise its silent influence over the enquiring minds of cultured Europe and America. The nuggets of thoughts imbedded in the Vedanta are now worked upon by the Western scholars and sent back to India in the most charming and fascinating forms. The blocks of Vedantic ideas yield to the chisel of the occidental giants and are worked into statues of incomparable beauty and symmetry.

Malabar Tradition about Sankara.

Sankara has established *mutts* or monasteries in many parts of India. He is recognised as Jagadguru—the spiritual head of the Indian world. His Ashrama at Haridwar in the Himalayas where he is supposed to have attained his final emancipation is still officered by a Namburi Brahman from Kerala. For Sankara was a Namburi of Kerala. This profound scholar, religious reformer, consummate philosopher and great philanthropist was born in the obscure village of Kaladi near Alwaye on the borders of the States of Cochin and Travancore. He belonged to a respectable Brahman family. Malabar tradition says that as his father died while his mother was carrying, Namburis suspected her chastity. Another tradition maintains that shortly after the *garbhadhana* ceremony Sankara's father left his village and became a wandering mendicant. The Keralolpathi says that the great Acharya was an Avatar of Siva. The Bhavishya Hara Purana agrees with the Keralolpathi in holding that Sankara is an incarnation of Rudra who deigned to bring to the afflicted world the true knowledge

of the scriptures. As his mother's chastity was suspected and both he and his mother were interdicted, Sankara being thoroughly disgusted with his unreasonable and stiff-necked countrymen seems to have left his fatherland in his very early youth and never to have set his foot again in Kerala. To this circumstance may be attributed the entire absence, in his works, of any references or allusions to Kerala, its people, and their unique customs and manners. This absence of reference to Kerala may also be accounted for as due to the nature of the subjects he had to handle. He has written very learned commentaries on the Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Aitareya, Taitteriya, Svetasvatara, Chandogya, Brihadaranya, and Nrisimhatapini Upanishads. The authorship of the Bhashyam or commentary on the Svetasvataropanishad is disputed. Besides these commentaries on these classical Upanishads, he has composed Bhashyams on the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavatgita. These works being philosophical subjects could not have given him any occasion to allude to his own country and its people. Further, the distant obscurity of Kerala would not have subserved the purposes of illustrations of subjects intended for the whole of India. His Bhashyams are believed to have been composed in Benares. Following the Mahabhashya of Patanjali on Panini's grammatical aphorisms, Sankara refers to Srughna, Mathura, and Patalipura, in two places in his Sariraka Bhashya (or commentary on the Brahma Sutras)—chapter II. 1. 17 and IV. 2. 5.

There appears to be a very faint reference to Kerala in the following passage in his commentary on Brahma Sutra III. 2, 10 :—

Tato mritoyam ity adhyavasâya dhanâyâranyam nayanti, "Having ascertained that he is dead, they carry him to the forest for cremation."

In Kerala, the cremation ground is called chudelakkadu (burning forest). Among Namburis, a certain part of the garden in which their 'illam' or house stands is set apart for cremation purposes and is known as chudalakadu or simply kâdu. The reason assigned by Namburis for the cremation of their dead bodies so close to their dwelling houses is to avoid picking up the bones of other persons, which naturally results if all the dead bodies are burned in one common cemetery. Another reason alleged by the Namburis is that their present mode of disposing of the dead bodies serves as a safeguard against Sankarapretatva (സംകരപ്രേതത്വം)—the evil arising from

allowing the *pretas* or spectres of different families and castes to mix freely with one another. A tradition current in Malabar is that as other Namburis, on account of Sankara's supposed illegitimate birth, refused to help him in cremating his mother's corpse, he cut it up into pieces, offered these in a *Homa* and cursed the Namburis to the effect that from that time forward, they should have their burning grounds in the south of their gardens, close to their houses, and that he was put to the necessity of availing himself of the services of Sudras in the cremation of his mother, so the Namburis should thereafter have to engage Sudras in the cremation.

As there is no reference to a forest as a burning ground in any of the Grihya Sutras which generally describe the cemetery as an open space outside the village, the term "forest," "aranya" in the above passage may most probably refer to the "kâdu" of Kerala. As the term Sivakananam is applied to a burning place as the favourite dwelling place of Siva or Bhairava, and as the cemetery is called *Pitrivanam*—the forest of the manes, much weight cannot be attached to the above passage as referring to the cemeteries of Kerala.

The most natural and reasonable explanation for the cremation of the dead close to the Namburis' houses—a practice most objectionable in the eyes of other Brahmans—is found in the fact that on their entrance into Kerala, the Namburis, instead of living together in *Agraharas* or villages, dwelt in detached houses and at great distances from one another, and consequently found it very difficult, if not impossible, to have a common cremation place and followed the custom of disposing of the dead close to their residences. The services of the Sudras are required not as bearers of the corpse but in preparing the funeral pile &c. This is only a survival of the ancient customs. The question in what relationship the Sudras stood to the Brahmans in ancient India will be fully discussed in connection with the *Anacharas* of the Namburis.

As every departure from sanctioned and established practice, or every practice at variance with the Dharma Sastras, has to be defended, Sankaracharya is brought in as countenancing and sanctioning all the so-called *Anacharas*, or peculiar customs of the Namburis. It is really a matter for great surprise that the Namburis as a race should follow Sankara whom they had counted as an outcaste and refused to help in the cremation of his mother. It is still more

surprising that the Namburis—the most conservative of the Hindus—should give up the time-honoured custom of disposing of the dead in a common burning ground and adopt the practice introduced by Sankara. When it is remembered that in their legal proceedings against any accused person the Namburis never accept any evidence brought by him, and never allow him an opportunity of defending himself, the story of Namburis adopting the suspected Sankara as their Guru and quietly submitting to the various innovations introduced by him will appear to be utterly groundless.

Some of the East Coast Brahmans believe that Sankara was born at Chidambaram and attained his absolution at Kanchi. It is said that there is a statue of Sankara in Siva Kanchi, but this alone is not sufficient to prove that Sankara's *Samadhi* took place at Kanchi.

M. SESHAGIRI PRABHU.

(To be continued.)

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MANIMAKALE AND SILAPPATHIKARAM.

I must first thank Mr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar for his kindness in referring to my *Tamil Manual* in his article published in the *Malabar Quarterly Review*. But, as he discusses some opinions of mine, I beg leave to answer him briefly, at least as regards the two masterpieces of Tamil literature, *Manimakale* and *Silappathikaram*. I am inclined to believe that those two works are not contemporary; the second appears to me the earlier of the two, and if I am permitted to say so, the genuine one. I am convinced that the *Manimakale* was written in a Buddhist monastery, probably somewhere on the Coromandel Coast, perhaps at Caveripatnam or Negapatam, at the time in which a Buddhist invasion took place, an historical event recorded in the *Vadavurpuranam*. The argument based on the omission of the work in the *Virocholiyam* is, I confess, of no slight value; but better ones can be invoked.

Both in *Silappathikaram* and *Manimakale* a verse from Thiruvalluvar's *Kural* is introduced, exactly the same in both, namely the fifth verse of the sixth chapter; and it was concluded from this fact that both works were posterior to the *Kural*. But we must point out that the verse is quoted in full, with only a word more, the adjective *peru*, for the sake of the metre, in the very text of the *Manimakale*, (Chapter XXIII, L. 19—50) and the author is styled in the following line *poyyilpulavan*, a poet without falseness. In the *Silappathikaram*, the quotation, less perfect, occurs in an additional *Venba* to chapter XXIII which was probably not written by the author himself. It was evidently added by an early editor, commentator or copyist; the fact, it is explained in the old *Arumpadavurai* does not prove its genuineness. We know what variations are to be observed in the various manuscript copies of old Tamil works: lines or verses omitted, chapters more or less numerous, titles changed &c. For example, an old copy of the *Manimakale* has special titles for all the chapters which are called *pattu* (a song) and not *Kadai* (a tale). It may be observed here that, while three commentaries have been written on the *Silappathikaram* of which one half has been preserved, no commentary whatever on the *Manimakale* has been forthcoming.

Moreover, if we compare the two works, we cannot fail to observe several discrepancies which are highly suggestive. In the

Manimakale, every chapter and the preface end with the cha (a saying). In the *Silappathikaram* twenty-one chapters only end so. The whole of *Manimakale* is written in one and the same poetical metre, the *agaval*; the other work *Silappathikaram* has various metres and exhibits various interesting hymns, songs and dancing airs a few *venbas* and even some prose passages. Its style is harder and more difficult. The *Manimakle* evidently appears to be written in very easy style. It is later too and is more religious and devotional; the former perhaps more laic and worldly. Finally, the *Manimakale* is undoubtedly a Buddhist legend. The *Silappathikaram* claims to be of a Jaina type.

These remarks, and others for example, the fact that in the *Manimakale* the Chola country and places of Buddhist worship only are spoken of, while in *Silappathikaram* the three classical Tamil kingdoms are concerned must render most doubtful the hypothesis of the two poems being contemporary and companion works. The *Silappathikaram* is more elaborate, the *Manimakale* more fluent and simple.

According to tradition, the former was written by Ilanko, a young Chera prince, who became an ascetic, and the latter by his friend Sattan, a wealthy merchant of Madura. One may feel surprised that a member of the royal family of Vanji should have taken to friend a merchant of Madura in another country, often at war with his own, and that they should have anything to do with each other after the prince had renounced the world. I am not disposed to place much reliance on Tamil literary traditions, inasmuch as many of them seem without any real foundation and must be considered to be fanciful. I have been also struck by the fact that most of the names of old authors, commentators, and editors are not evidently personal names, but mere surnames: *Tolkappyam* is the old poet, *Thiruvalluvar* is the holy saint, *Ilanko-Adigal* is the young lord, *Nachinarkiniyar* is one who is kind to those who despise him. Do not all these arguments or remarks throw doubts on the traditional opinion?

At what time, however, have the two works been written? The name of a king of Ceylon, Gajabahu, which occurs in the *Silappathikaram* has been considered as affording an indication of the date of the poem, and two kings of this name who lived in the second and eleventh centuries A. D. have been pointed to as being possibly

contemporaneous with the author. The one, however, appears to be too early and the other too late. Mr. Krishnaswamy thinks that Tamil literary activity coincided with the flourishing period of the Pallava reign, namely from the fifth to the eighth century A. D.; but if so, why are all Tamil traditions founded only on the existence of the three kingdoms of Pandya, Chola and Chera? The Pallava kingdom is spoken of in the *Chintamani*, it is true, but in a strange and legendary manner.

In South India no written documents in a written language have been found anterior to the fourth or fifth century A. D. Such documents are either copper-plate grants or inscriptions on the walls of churches. The earliest ones are in *simple* prose, and when an eulogistic part occurs, it is in Sanskrit verse, the Tamil part being purely official and administrative; this is the case with the Pallava grants. In later, and especially in the Chola grants the eulogistic part is in Tamil verse, and in the primitive metre, the *agaval*.

No trace whatever of an old Tamil writing has been found, and the *Vattaluthu* itself is undoubtedly derived from the northern alphabets. This is unquestionably proved by the order of the latter, the vocalizing system, the confusion of short and long *e* and *o*, the analogy of *k*, *s*, *t*, *p*, *m*, *t*, *r*, &c.

For the reasons stated above I can hartly admit that Tamil literary age has begun before the seventh century A. D. I am of opinion that there were five periods in it, *viz*; first, a period of essays, pamphlets, short poems; secondly, a period in which the Jainas predominated; thirdly, a perood which saw at the same time the struggle between the Saivas and the Jainas and in which the Buddhists came from Ceylon; fourthly, a period in which the Saivas were the undisputed masters; fifthly, a period in which appear the Vaishnavas. We may add a sixth one, from the coming of the Europeans up to the present days and my hypothesis will not appear baseless, that Tamil remained long spoken but not written and cultivated; after the northern invasion of the Aryans it was preserved in hamlets and villages while the Brahmans and soldiers settled in cities; these were speaking *prakrits* but used Sanskrit as their official language. Gradually their intercourse with the native population became more intimate and they learned

to speak Tamil and they were slowly led to write it. If I were asked about dates, I would indicate for the above periods the sixth or seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I am well aware that all this is uncertain and doubtful; the problem will only be solved as future discoveries offer supplementary information. I hope, nevertheless, that my opinion will not be entirely overthrown by facts. I must now request the readers to excuse my temerity, and my English which is not my native tongue. Whatever be the language or the style, a writer may be pardoned when he endeavours, as I do, to let Europeans know and study many things which deserve to be known and have till now been too much neglected.

JULIEN VINSON.

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